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Sinner?

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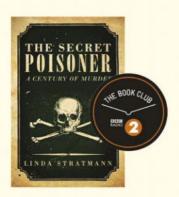
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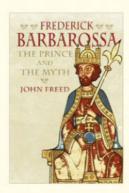
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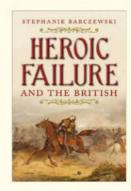
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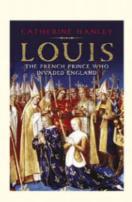


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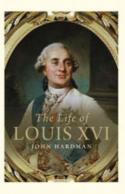


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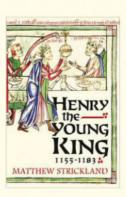


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MAY 2016

WELCOME



Thomas More is one of England's most divisive historical characters. Revered as a saint by some, he has also been widely castigated for his role in the bloody suppression of early Protestants. In popular culture we get both Mores: the hero of *A Man for All Seasons* and the villain of *Wolf Hall*. So which, if either, is the truth? We asked his biographer, Dr Joanne Paul, to take a fresh look at the Tudor statesman. You can read her thoughts on page 22. And as this year marks the 500th anniversary of More's novel *Utopia*, Joanne also compares his idealised society with the real Tudor England (page 28).

Another important milestone we're marking this month is the centenary of the **battle of Jutland**. This apparently inconclusive naval clash between the British and German fleets is frequently overshadowed by land battles such as the Somme and Passchendaele. Yet, if naval historian Nick Hewitt is to be believed, Jutland may have been the most important battle of all. Was it, in fact, the moment when the war was decisively won? Turn to page 50 to read Nick's argument.

If you're looking for something a bit more cheerful to read, alongside

these tales of naval warfare and Tudor persecution, I'm afraid you won't find it in this month's article on **19th-century fairies**. While fairies today are seen as cute, happy and magical, in earlier times they were malevolent monsters, capable of child murder among other misdeeds. Richard Sugg's piece on page 60 reveals the full extent of 'fairy danger'. Toy shops might never feel the same again.

Rob Attar

Editor

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THIS ISSUE'S CONTRIBUTORS



Joanne Paul

The legacy of Thomas More continues to divide, 500 years on. I am really interested in how we try to understand the flesh and blood individual under all this controversy.

Joanne discovers the man behind the myths on page 22



Nick Hewitt

The Jutland centenary is a fantastic opportunity to restore the battle to the heart of the national First World War narrative. My article draws on my research at the National Museum of the Royal Navy for a new, definitive exhibition there

Nick re-evaluates the Jutland 'disaster' on page 50



Kate Summerscale

Of all the people who were involved in this story, Robert was the character who fascinated me most. His strange mixture of honesty and guile, dreaminess and pragma tism makes him such a complicated character.

 Kate explores a Victorian murder on page 65

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MAY 2016

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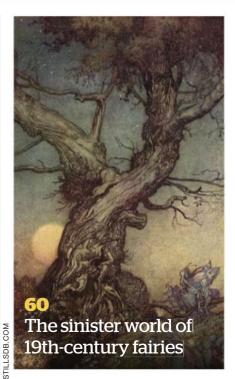
Ben Elton enthuses about William Shakespeare

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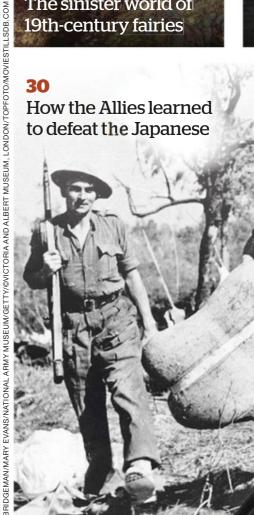


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How the Allies learned to defeat the Japanese





ANNIVERSARIES

20 May 1932

Pilot Amelia Earhart flies across the Atlantic single-handedly

The first woman pilot to attempt the crossing sets off from Newfoundland, landing in Northern Ireland 15 hours later

ive years after Charles Lindbergh became the first man to fly solo nonstop across the Atlantic, the young American pilot Amelia Earhart climbed aboard her plane at Harbour Grace on the coast of Newfoundland, Canada, carrying that day's paper to prove the date of her departure.

She had crossed the Atlantic before, as part of a three-person crew. Then, as she put it, she had been "just baggage, like a sack of potatoes". This was different – a feat that would capture the imagination of a generation. Never before had a woman flown across the Atlantic on her own.

By Earhart's account, the flight was an ordeal. The fuel tank leaked, the wings became heavy with ice, the plane was battered by strong winds, and flames flickered out of the engine casing.

Earhart had planned to land in Paris, a suitably glamorous destination for a record-breaking flight. But bad weather and a spluttering engine put paid to that idea. Instead, after an exhausting journey of just under 15 hours, she bumped down in a field in Northern Ireland. "Have you come far?" asked a watching farm labourer. "From America," Earhart replied.

Earhart's achievement won honours from governments across the world, as well as a ticker-tape parade through New York City. "Without male or other assistance, but relying on her own ability as a pilot," opined the *Manchester Guardian*, "she has succeeded in proving that the flight is not beyond the knowledge and the capacity for sustained endurance which a woman can acquire."



Earhart waves from the cockpit of her plane. She flew into the record books on 20 May 1932 as the first woman to cross the Atlantic solo

2 May 1536

Anne Boleyn is arrested

The second wife of Henry VIII is accused of high treason

The story goes that Anne Boleyn was watching a game of tennis when her own game definitively slipped away from her.

The date was 2 May 1536. After days of gathering tension, rumour and counter-rumour, Henry VIII had finally decided to move against the woman for whom he had alienated the papacy and divided England.

Anne's position had been deteriorating for months. Although she had already given the king a daughter, Elizabeth, she had failed to produce the desired son and heir, and in the meantime Henry had fixed his eyes on the woman who would become his next wife: Jane Seymour.

At the end of April a musician in Anne's service, one Mark Smeaton, had been arrested (and, probably, tortured), and it was Smeaton's confession – that he had been the queen's lover, and not the only one – that sealed Anne's fate.

Most accounts agree that on her arrest Anne was taken immediately before a royal commission, led by her uncle and former patron, the Duke of Norfolk. There she was formally accused of adultery and high treason, before being escorted under guard to a boat, bound for the Tower of London. On arrival she was greeted by the constable, Sir William Kingston.

The constable wrote later: "She said unto me, 'Mr Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?' I said: 'No, Madam. You shall go into the lodging you lay in at your coronation.' She said: 'It is too good for me; Jesu have mercy on me,' and kneeled down, weeping apace, and in the same sorrow fell into a great laughing, and she hath done so many times since."

Just under two weeks later, Anne was tried and found guilty. On 19 May she was executed.

0740

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian and presenter. His new series about Britain in the 1980s is due to air this summer on BBC Two





Before her execution for adultery and high treason in May 1536, Anne Boleyn spent two weeks in the Tower of London – an episode dramatised in this 19th-century painting by Édouard Cibot



12 May 1191

In Limassol in Cyprus, **Richard**the Lionheart (left), already
having left England to lead the
Third Crusade, marries
Berengaria of Navarre.

10 May 1773

Parliament passes the controversial Tea Act, giving the **East India Company** a monopoly of the trade in tea to North America.



24 May 1956

In Lugano, Switzerland, seven countries compete in **the first Eurovision Song Contest**. Victory goes to Swiss singer Lys Assia (left).



The sack of Rome by the Vandals in May AD 455 is depicted in a dramatic 19th-century painting by Karl Bryullov

31 May 455

Emperor Maximus is killed fleeing the city of Rome

As the Vandals approach Rome, the city's populace turn on the emperor and throw his body into the Tiber

The last day of May 455 found the people of the city of Rome in a febrile mood. Just days before, news had reached the city that Genseric, the king of the Vandals, had sailed from north Africa along with thousands of soldiers.

With no serious prospect of resisting a Vandal attack, many richer citizens of Rome had already fled the city. And now the emperor, Petronius Maximus, fearing for his life, was preparing to follow suit.

At the age of almost 60, Petronius Maximus had been on the imperial throne for only two and a half months. His origins are obscure but as a relatively young man he had held a succession of senior political posts. He was clearly a man in possession of a handsome fortune, and with some impressive connections, too.

Earlier in the year, he had probably been instrumental in organising a coup against the previous emperor, Valentinian III (whose reign had begun in 425), who was murdered by two military veterans. But, after a reign of just 77 days, Maximus's luck had run out.

According to later historians, Maximus's bid to escape from the city collapsed almost as soon as he had set off. Abandoned by his officials and his bodyguards, the emperor rode alone towards the city gates, only to be accosted by an angry mob.

One account has him stoned to death by the crowd; another suggests that the final blow was delivered by a soldier nicknamed Ursus ('Bear'). Afterwards, the emperor's body was mutilated and thrown into the Tiber. Three days later, Genseric's troops arrived at the city. The Vandal sack of Rome had begun.

BRIDGEMAN

Wesley is born again

A moment in London inspires the Methodist movement

n the evening of 24 May 1738, on Aldersgate Street, in the heart of the City of London, a troubled man walked towards the moment that would change his life.

At the age of 34 John Wesley was in a state of deep despair. In October 1835 he had sailed with his brother Charles to Savannah, Georgia to set up a Christian mission. But an obscure legal dispute destroyed his reputation, and at the end of 1737 Wesley had returned to England. Now the Oxford-educated Anglican minister was drifting, his career heading nowhere.

During his trip to the colonies, Wesley had been impressed by the commitment of the Moravians, a church of Czech Protestants. It was to a Moravian prayer meeting that he was heading on the night of 24 May – and what followed was the foundational moment in the history of worldwide Methodism.

"In the evening," John Wesley wrote in his journal, "I went very unwillingly



Wesley preaching at Moorfields in 1738, shown in a modern window in St Botolph's church, Aldersgate – not far from where he experienced his epiphany

to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

To put it simply, Wesley had been born again. Until that moment, he wrote later, "I was not a Christian" – meaning, not a real one. Now he felt convinced that only by opening themselves to Christ could individuals throw off sin and attain salvation. In the years that followed, Wesley gave an estimated 40,000 sermons, hammering home the same simple message. Few Englishmen of any generation have ever had such worldwide influence.

COMMENT/Henry Rack

"After Wesley's death, Methodism evolved into a worldwide denomination"

Wesley's experience was a life-changing one, convincing him that man's salvation comes from the grace of God in response to faith rather than by his own efforts. It also gave him a sense of divinely appointed mission, to spread this message to others and, he hoped, to reform the church and nation. To this end he organised and supervised a growing 'Methodist' movement under his control. After his death, Methodism evolved into an independent, worldwide denomination, notably in the US.

Two things should be remembered. One is that Wesley's conversion was a stage in

his continuing development, beginning with experiments in self-discipline and devotional groups at Oxford. At the time of his conversion he condemned these as attempts at salvation by his own efforts. However, his mature teaching on salvation defined conversion as beginning a pursuit of holiness in which discipline had its place.

The other point is that Wesley and his movement were part of an international evangelical revival that began before his conversion and was independent of him. (His journal, in which the conversion story appeared, tended to picture the revival as beginning with him and centring on him.)

This is not to belittle his achievement and significance but rather to place them in their wider context.





Dr Henry Rack, former Bishop Fraser senior lecturer in ecclesiastical history at the University of Manchester, is the author of Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism (Epworth, 2014)

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HISTORY NOW

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Flights of fancy
There were hundreds of sightings of 'German' aircraft over Britain in 1912-13, leading to a frenzied debate about the state of the nation' air defences

ILLUSTRATION
BY SUE GENT

Why the Edwardians were terrified of 'phantom airships'

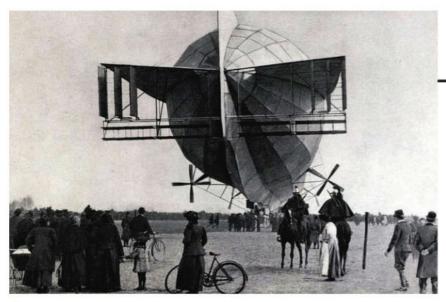
A forerunner of the UFO scare can tell us a great deal about Britons' paranoia ahead of the First World War, a new study suggests. **Matt Elton** reports

he light seemed bright and was moving eastwards fairly fast... The night was dark but the light enabled her to have the impression of seeing a long, dark object. She heard the sound of an engine." So naval investigators reported the experiences of an ironmonger's employee on 14 October 1912, who believed that she had witnessed an airship in the night sky – when none was there. It was just one of a spate of apparent sightings of 'phantom airships' that was to grow into a panic over the coming months.

The trend was such that, in just one three-month period in 1913, there were

more than 300 sightings around Britain, particularly in Yorkshire and south Wales, leading to fears of a new aerial threat posed by German forces in the run-up to the First World War. Sightings were widely reported in the press, and led to debate about what should be done to protect the nation's skies.

So what was really going on? "The airship panic was the Edwardian equivalent of a wave of UFO sightings, except instead of interpreting the strange lights in the sky as alien spacecraft, people instead tended to assume they were German zeppelins," says Brett Holman from the University of New England in Australia, whose research on



Dread zeppelin A German airship in 1913. German records suggest that zeppelins cannot have been responsible for the mystery aircraft scare of 1912–13, but that didn't stop them getting the blame

the subject appears in the *Journal of British Studies*. "It's clear that, in many cases, people were looking at Venus, then a brilliant object low on the western horizon. That doesn't explain all the sightings, though: some do seem to have been caused by fire balloons or toy airships sent up by hoaxers. The one thing that they can't have been, based on German records and sheer physical implausibility, is zeppelins."

Indeed, Holman argues that this mass belief in the presence of 'phantom zeppelins' says much about the age. "This was the perfect Edwardian panic, combining features of the main Germanophobic panics of the preceding decade," he says. "It was both a spy scare and an invasion scare, with the added element of an air scare. It shows that many people thought it quite plausible that foreign airships could fly around British skies almost at will, although there's not much evidence as to what they thought the airships were actually doing. It was more of a vague feeling of menace from these unknown craft hovering above."

Indeed, this fear was sufficiently illdefined that there seems to have been little concern that London or other major British cities would be bombed

"There was a vague feeling of menace from these unknown airships hovering above" by these mysterious 'craft'. But there was definitely a sense, Holman argues, that the Germans were up to *something* – from espionage to disrupting Britain's preparation for a looming war.

By the middle of April 1913, sightings tailed off. "It's not entirely clear why.

Some of the most spectacular sightings came very late in the panic, but received little attention by the press," says Holman. "After all, there had been several months of 'sightings' with no definite proof of their existence, let alone their German origin – and there was also evidence of some hoaxing and misperception."

But while the sightings may not have been real, their impact definitely was. "Press attention turned to the debate over the state of Britain's aerial defences, which was started by, but no longer required, the phantom airship sightings," says Holman. "Politicians and pressure groups tried to use the 'phantom airships' to promote their own agendas. For example, the Navy League, a pressure group that promoted the idea of a large Royal Navy, called for an aerial defence budget of £1m – similar to its response to the more famous 1909 panic about dreadnoughts attacking Britain's coasts."

Though it appears their eyes were deceiving them, Holman argues that we should be sympathetic to the people who believed they had seen strange craft. "This was an era of incredible technological change that people were trying to understand," he argues, "and their understanding was not always the same as ours is today."

OBITUARY

Asa Briggs (1921-2016)

sa Briggs, a leading historian of the Victorian period and chronicler of the BBC, has died at the age of 94.

A graduate of Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, Briggs had a long and varied career. He worked with Alan Turing cracking German codes at Bletchley Park during the Second World War, before becoming a fellow at Worcester College, University of Oxford for 10 years until 1955. It was during this period that Briggs published the first in a three-volume account of the 19th century, Victorian People, reflecting his ongoing interest in urban and workingclass history. He became professor of history and dean of the School of Social Studies at the newly founded University of Sussex in 1961.

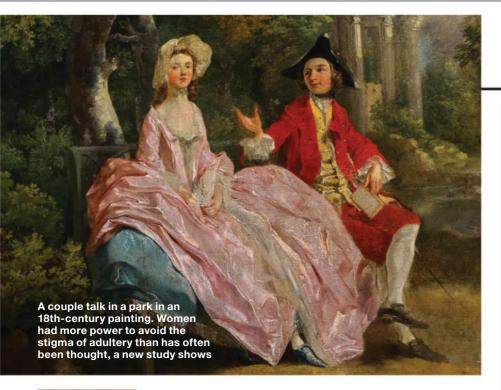
It was during the same year that Briggs was first commissioned by the BBC to write what became a five-volume history of broadcasting in the UK. The resulting work, published by Oxford University Press and exploring the corporation's development in considerable detail, was completed in 1995.

Jeremy Black, professor of history at the University of Exeter, said: "Asa Briggs' determined and continued engagement with the public was in striking contrast with the approach of so many academics, who often seemed to turn their backs on the need for public interaction. His contribution to all of the fields in which he worked was hugely positive, and he will be missed." *ME*



Historian Asa Briggs, who showed "determined public engagement"

GETTY/MARTIN GODWIN/THE GUARDIAN



SOCIAL HISTORY

How women carried out adultery in Georgian England, and got away with it

t's an image of England in the 1700s typified in the novels of Jane Austen: that a woman's reputation depended on her being demure and chaste. Yet new research suggests that many women were able to commit such apparent 'indiscretions' as sex outside of, or before marriage while still successfully maintaining their social status.

How was this possible? The study, by Soile Ylivuori from the University of Helsinki, reveals that the effects of unchaste behaviour were not always as severe as thought. "It wasn't advisable to be openly unchaste: it could have grave consequences, such as being shunned by society," she says. "But one false step by no means always meant endless ruin."

Ylivuori's research suggests that there were several ways in which adulterous women could rescue their reputations. They could have the wealth to survive on their own means, which was an impor-

"One false step did not spell the endless ruin we have grown to expect from Jane Austen books" tant factor if they lost other people's financial support. Their husband or other social contacts could also continue to offer wealth and protection: Ylivuori cites the case of Mary Cholmondeley, daughter of an Irish bricklayer, for whom the support of powerful friends – including politician Horace Walpole – allowed her to maintain her elevated social standing.

Re-entering the marriage market could also help. "A new husband was often enough to make people forget a lady's questionable history – especially if she showed she knew how to properly behave in polite society," says Ylivuori.

The study also stresses that 'chasteness' was, in any case, often nothing more than a performance. Women knew how to convey 'virtuousness' – through, for instance, modest dress and downcast eyes – and modified their behaviour accordingly, even if their private lives were far from unblemished.

Ultimately, though, women were judged more harshly than men, says Ylivuori. "This wasn't lost on some 18th-century writers, who pointed out that it was shameful for a woman to be a 'slut' when, for men, the shame arose from being cuckolded." ME

WHAT WE'VE LEARNED THIS MONTH...

An Anglo-Saxon 'island' has been found

A settlement that dates back to the seventh century and which would originally have been surrounded by water has been uncovered near the Lincolnshire town of Louth. Experts were first alerted to the existence of the Middle Saxon island after a silver writing tool was found on the site, and subsequent discoveries include a small lead tablet and the butchered bones of several animals.

Palmyra damage is not as bad as experts feared

Destruction inflicted to the ancient Syrian city of Palmyra, recaptured from the militant group Islamic State by government troops in March, is not as bad as feared, experts in the region say. Although the Unesco World Heritage Site had already been significantly damaged by the extremist forces, Amr al-Azm, a former Syrian antiquities official, said that he was surprised that more damage was not caused by the military campaign to reclaim the city.

A Merlin sculpture has sparked debate

A rock carving depicting the wizard Merlin at a coastal cave linked to the legend of King Arthur has provoked a mixed reaction after it was unveiled in February. Critics argue that it represents a 'Disneyfication' of the site near Tintagel Castle, supposedly the birthplace of the king that Merlin advised. The site's owner, English Heritage, said it would help visitors understand the area's story – but a local councillor has complained about the "comic-book face".



The historians' view...

Why does North Korea give the world the cold shoulder?

Pyongyang has been engaging in some high-profile nuclear sabre-rattling in recent months. With tensions in the far east perilously high, two historians offer their perspectives on North Korea's troubled relationships with the US, China and its neighbours in the south of the Korean peninsula

Interviews by **Chris Bowlby**, a BBC journalist specialising in history

The blossoming relations between China and the US have been problematic for North Korea because it is so ideologically entrenched

DR ADAM CATHCART

orth Korea is often portrayed as an isolated maverick state. But one power seen as having some influence over Pyongyang in recent history is China. The end of the Korean War in 1953 and the five years that followed represented the height of Chinese influence on the Korean peninsula in the 20th century. Kim Il-Sung, the young guerrilla bandit-turned Soviet client, was no Chinese puppet, but he was forced to turn to Beijing in the autumn of 1950 as his North Korean state crumbled under the weight of UN advances and American bombing.

The question of why China intervened to aid North Korea in the war is still debated, but today our perceptions of China's core interests on the peninsula are rooted in that intervention. Almost everyone has forgotten the Chinese occupation of North Korea from

1953–58, in which the Chinese rebuilt the war-torn North Korean state. Soviet culture had had a significant impact on North Korean institutions, but the more long-term history of north-east Asia favours the deeply ingrained preponderance of China's power.

Today, China's dominance is more economic than military. Even a cursory trip along the 900-mile riverine frontier between the two countries indicates that, though sanctions and North Korea's recalcitrance keeps business slow, it is nevertheless a steady trade. Use of the Chinese currency, the Yuan, is proceeding fully in the country.

And China's leader, Xi Jinping, talks about connecting North Korea to a policy of economic interchange with the same almost messianic quality of Mao talking about proletarian revolution.

North Korea's horrific famine of the 1990s created space for the dominance of Chinese exports in North Korea's economy and created a refugee problem that has yet to fully subside. Yet it should be remembered that during years of collectivisation in China, North Korea was a source of food for hungry Chinese – not vice-versa!

North Korea's nuclear programme – today the main wedge between Beijing and Pyongyang – is rooted not so much in technological insecurity as ideas of self-reliance, called 'Juche' by North Koreans and coined by Kim Il-Sung . In 1958, North Korea set out to straddle the rift between the



Soviets and the Chinese and also knit together small but important relationships in the Arab world, Africa and south-east Asia. These were important economic and military partners. While the remnants of this era are seen as quaint, they are very real. The Syria-North Korea relationship today is arguably much stronger than the Sino-North Korean relationship, for example.

China's normalisation of relations with Washington, a process beginning with ping-pong diplomacy in 1971 and Kissinger and Nixon's trips to China, was galling to Kim Il-sung. Kim had lost his youth, but not his appetite for violence; China's refusal to support another attack on Seoul created more friction. Beijing's ultimate recognition of South Korea appeared to Pyongyang to be a betrayal, and the blossoming relationship with the United States has been problematic for Pyongyang because North Korea is so ideologically entrenched. Bonds formed by brothers-in-arms are now atrophied. And China's overt support of international sanctions against North Korea, combined with Beijing's overarching influence in the region, means that the relationship

remains tense.

Adam Cathcart is a lecturer at the University of Leeds and editor of Continuity and Change in North Korean Politics (Routledge, 2016)





A girl hospitalised by a hunger-related illness in North Korea, 1999. Huge numbers died in the famine of the 1990s



Soldiers of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers celebrate a victory over US forces in 1953

The Korean War strengthened Kim II Sung's position because he hadn't been defeated by the greatest military power in the world

DROWEN MILLER

think North Korea's insistence on defiant, independent action comes first of all from the experience of Korea in the late 19th/early 20th centuries as a country fought over and then colonised by Japan. The North Korean state (the DPRK) and its leaders have seen themselves as the true Korean nationalists. And they also had the experience of fighting as guerrillas in Manchuria and China against the Japanese. This was then reinforced greatly by the experience of the Korean War. It was both a punishing experience and one that strengthened Kim Il Sung's position as leader, because he wasn't defeated by the might of the world's greatest military power.

This kind of attitude has been bolstered by the personality cult surrounding North Korean leaders, alongside a very well-developed system of social control that includes things like the mass organisations (women's league, youth league, Korean Workers' Party etc) as well as the pervasive security services and the monopolisation of culture by the state.

It doesn't seem to be accidental that many mid-20th-century states developed personality cults. What makes the North Korean case a little bit different is the extent of the cult. There may be many reasons for that, but North Korea's small size, relative cultural homogeneity and isolation have, it's been suggested, all contributed.

What about relations with South Korea? North Korea has in the past been prepared to engage in diplomacy, as in the early 1970s, when it felt it was South Korea's equal, or even superior.

Governments in South Korea have repeatedly changed tack in their engagement with their northern neighbour. Rising tensions between North and South can, after all, be very useful if an election is approaching. Moves at a rapprochement were most consistent and sincere in the late 1990s, following Kim Dae-jung's election in the South, and his introduction of a 'Sunshine Policy'. With North Korea's economy in a state of collapse, and the country in the midst of a ruinous famine, leader Kim Jong-il agreed to meet Kim Dae-jung, and apparently recognised his country's weak position.

For a time in the early to mid-2000s it looked as though North and South might become increasingly economically entwined, with the North essentially becoming dependent on the South instead of Russia or China. But that changed in the late 2000s with the arrival of a much more conservative government in South Korea.

I'm not sure whether the South's rulers now fear Korean reunification. Some people continue to believe it would be relatively cheap and bring lots of advantages. But the idea certainly doesn't seem to attract the popular support it once had. There is a more general fear today that reunification would be very costly and set the South's 'miracle' economy back many years.



Dr Owen Miller is a lecturer in Korean studies at SOAS, University of London

DISCOVER MORE

воок

► Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950–1992 by Charles Armstrong (Cornell University Press, 2013)

PAST NOTES SUGAR

OLD NEWS

Smuggling by pigeon

Worcestershire Chronicle 11 July 1896

ong before the internet, newspapers relied on telegrams for the news reports that came from further afield. Since the mid-19th century Europe had been linked to the USA by a transatlantic cable, as the Victorians attempted to make the world increasingly connected.

In 1896, the Worcestershire Chronicle used this to good effect, reporting on a telegram received from New York that had brought an incredible criminal story. An exhausted pigeon had miraculously fallen into the hands of the New York police. On closer examination, the poor bird was found to have a large quantity of diamonds tied underneath its tail and its neck, with two large diamonds tied to each leg. The police surmised that this had been done by person or persons unknown, who were trying to avoid paying the customs tax on entering the United States. They believed that the pigeon had been released from the deck of an ocean steamer that had been heading into the port. This could either have been a miserly aristocrat or criminal gang although, as the owner never stepped forward to claim the lost jewels, the case was never solved.

News story sourced from britishnewspaper archive.co.uk and rediscovered by Fern Riddell. Fern regularly appears on BBC Radio 3's Free Thinking



Slaves harvest sugar in Victor Patricio Landaluze's 1874 painting Mill of Cana

Following the announcement that a sugar tax is to be introduced in the UK, **Julian Humphrys** takes a look at its bitter-sweet history

Where does our sugar come from?

Originally we only consumed cane sugar. As it was refined from the liquid of a bamboo-like grass that couldn't be grown in much of western Europe, it had to be imported from the east. Initially arriving in England in the early Middle Ages, it was for centuries a luxury import enjoyed by the rich (Elizabeth I's teeth are said to have rotted through excessive consumption) and kept away from sweet-toothed servants by being locked up in caddies.

How did it turn from a luxury to a staple?

When Christopher Columbus took some canes with him on his second voyage to the New World, it was rapidly discovered that the climate of the West Indies was ideal for sugar production. But while it was easy to grow there, it remained extremely labour-intensive to harvest. The answer was found in slavery, with the result that the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade was directly related to western Europe's taste for sugar. Slavery made sugar cheaper to produce and so, despite taxation, more people could afford it.

ILLUSTRATION BY BEN JONES

How much did we consume?

As the price of sugar fell, Britain's annual per capita consumption rocketed, rising from 4lbs in 1704 to 18lbs in 1800. In 1874 the tax on sugar was removed, making it even cheaper. By 1901 Britons were consuming 90lbs per head per year, spooning it into their tea and mixing it with fruit to make jam.

What about sugar beet?

While western Europe's climate tends to be unsuitable for sugar cane, it's excellent for growing sugar beet. But although a method of extracting sugar from beet in a form that could be used in cooking was first discovered in 1747, cane sugar held sway until the Napoleonic Wars. When the British naval blockade hampered the importation of cane sugar into mainland Europe, the farming of sugar beet developed rapidly as a replacement. By 1880, beet was the main source of sugar in Europe.

Britain's interest in home-grown sugar beet took longer to develop, although once again it was prompted by a blockade, this time by German U-boats during the First World War. Today, about half the sugar we consume is home produced.

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LONDON PROGRAMMES



Dramatising democracy: Abraham Lincoln on screen

Talk & film screening

Thu 2 June, 6-9pm | London

How much artistic license can filmmakers take with 'real' characters? How do their decisions impact our perspectives? Film historian, Melvyn Stokes, explores these questions in a special introduction to a screening of Spielberg's *Lincoln* (2012).

History's people: personalities and the past

Talk

Wed 29 June, 6-7.30pm | London

What difference do individuals make to history and what is the role of personality? Is it possible to find patterns in different types of personality? Historian Margaret MacMillan interrogates the past to ask questions about the role of individuals and their behaviour.



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LETTERS

Dad's Army days

LETTER OF THE MONTH I write in response to Leo McKinstry's article *The Dad's Army Guide to Defending Britain* (February). I am a former member of the Home Guard and when I joined, in 1941–42, I have

to say that we certainly weren't a group of bumbling misfits. In the unit I joined in Liverpool, three or four of the men had been in the 1914–18 war, but the rest of us were young men (a couple of whom were considered unfit).

Most of our training centred around the use of a rifle and handling grenades. We were also shown how to avoid being physically attacked by being given wrestling tips. Military drill was not on the agenda – but guard duty was. I think it's fair to say that we all felt we had something to offer in doing our best for the country.

Neville C Henshaw (former sergeant, Royal Corps of Signals), Co Down



A member of the Home Guard in 1940. They were no bumbling misfits

• We reward the letter of the month writer with our 'History Choice' book of the month. This issue it is *Democracy:* A Life by Paul Cartledge.

Read the review on page 69



No more apologies

I'm fed up. What do they want us to do? To quote a Churchill article title: "Shall we all commit suicide?"

I'm referring to the debate about the statue of Cecil Rhodes in Oxford, and whether it should be removed. I'm in complete agreement with Michael Wood (*Opinion*, March) that it should stay. But, in fact, it's wider than that. I'm fed up with hearing how bad the British were and how we should apologise for practically everything.

Yes, I know we did some terrible and reprehensible things. Yes, I know what we did during the colonial and pre-colonial eras was questionable to say the least. But what part of this do detractors think we do not understand? We didn't do those things, and when they were done, values and cultures were different.

When will these detractors recognise that no historical people are 'innocent'. Let's look at this from the historical perspective shall we? How about the estimated 1 to 2 million black Africans who were killed between 1815 and 1840 by the Zulu king Shaka and the Ndebele king Mzilikazi? Or the 10 to 18 million people turned into slaves by the Arab

nations between AD 650 and 1960? Or the 1.8 million people murdered by the Soviet system? Or the 2 million victims of the Pakistan/India partition? Or the estimated 50 million that died due to Spanish and US moves westward in the New World? I don't hear people asking for the King Shaka International Airport to be renamed. Perhaps it should be.

Do we want a historical truth and recognition summit for all countries where everyone can apologise to everyone else who has ever been invaded from, let's say, Ramesses onwards?

Yes, we can acknowledge past wrongs, but if stones are being thrown, detractors need to be aware they are likely stood in a greenhouse themselves.

Jason Sullock, Stockton-on-Tees

Rhodes must stay

Though my knowledge of this particular history is sparse, a thought struck me as I read Michael Wood's comment on the Cecil Rhodes statue. I can understand that a historical figure can be reviled for the choices they made in the past, particularly if their actions resulted in unforgivable violence and bloodshed. Yet, I have to agree with Wood that Rhodes' statue should remain.

I'm certainly not defending Rhodes for his past decisions but I believe that history is history – we are taught to learn from the past to ensure we avoid the same mistakes again tomorrow. Are we capable of achieving this if we tear down all the history that we disagree with, or that offends us? Will the removal of Rhodes affect how we live today? So as Michael Wood suggests, let's put up another statue to commemorate the improvements we've made since these bad choices of the past and move on.

Charlotte Olehnovics, Wallingford

Redrawing the map

I enjoyed the article by Sarah Foot in April's magazine about Edmund Ironside (*Ironside: Anglo-Saxon Warrior King*). England certainly looked very different in those days. According to your map, the river Tees flowed into the Solway Firth!

Rob Watson, York

Editor replies: Apologies for this error on the map, which was our fault and not that of Sarah Foot. The Anglo-Saxons had a great impact on Britain, but not to the extent of shifting its major waterways.

More sex please!

I have been an avid reader of *BBC History Magazine* for five years now and I want to thank you for the brilliant *The Tudor*

Sex Guide in the March edition. I love hearing about the day-to-day lives of normal people through history and this wonderfully written article by Lauren Johnson ticks all the boxes. Informative, fun and a little bit cheeky. I'm glad that we don't have the same guidelines about sex these

The campaign to remove this statue of Cecil Rhodes has provoked strong opinions

days... apart from the rule





The remains of the *Maine*, which sank during the United States' war with Spain in 1898. Despite its dismal fate, the ship became an icon of the conflict

about breaking all the rules! More of the same please. **Emma Hatton,** Cambridge

Celebrating America's losers

While reading Stephanie Barczewski's article Why the British Love a Plucky Loser (February), I found myself comparing the British tendency to celebrate losers to my own countrymen. In travelling the United States one finds few monuments to victory, but the losers are there. The Alamo is preserved in Texas, where a US garrison was completely annihilated. The USS Arizona is preserved in Pearl Harbor, destroyed while essentially never having fired a shot. The South, who lost, celebrate the Civil War, while the North, who won, mostly ignore it. Little Bighorn, site of Custer's last stand, is a national monument. The 9/11 site in New York is revered and that was hardly an American victory.

Our best-known colonial conflict, the Spanish-American War, is a good example. Better known than Dewey's flagship *Olympia* (which was the victor at Manila) is the second-class battleship *Maine*, whose only accomplishment was to blow up in unclear circumstances. The slogan for that war was 'Remember the *Maine*', which fits in with other

slogans such as 'Remember the Alamo' and 'Remember Pearl Harbor'. And we too have our fallen heroes. Amelia Earhart is remembered in much the same spirit as your George Mallory. The romance of the noble loser is certainly not limited to Britain.

So long live glorious failure! We Americans will toast them with you.

Dave Laster, Washington State

Corrections

- In March's Past Notes, we wrote that I Love Lucy was the first US sitcom. As Roger Bowerman points out, it was predated by Life of Riley, which launched in October 1949. Mary Kay and Johnny was broadcast earlier still, in 1947.
- In The Dark Side of Elizabethan England (March) we stated that "real wages did little more than double" during the period in question, whereas it should have been money wages that rose by this amount.

WRITE TO US

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SOCIAL MEDIA

What you've been saying on Twitter and Facebook



@HistoryExtra: An Australian university is telling students Britain 'invaded' Australia what's your reaction?

Chris Upton Absolutely correct, there can be no other interpretation, especially under English law which very clearly states that theft is the unlawful appropriation of property with intent to permanently deprive the owner of it

Peter Carroll The colonial period was not an invasion, as it was not singly planned and executed by a military force. Cook was working under a general mandate to explore and acquire new territory, but he certainly didn't think he was invading anyone

Craig Ian Lester The fact is that Britain did indeed invade Australia, murdering thousands of indigenous people to seize land for settlement and colonisation. It happened in Africa, the Americas and Asia too. It was theft on a massive scale

Robert Cains I have sympathies with some of the redefining of the terms to make them more respectful to the original inhabitants but I do find some of them to be too broad in terms of their definition. The use of 'invasion', which conjures up images of landing craft and mass armies, simply doesn't convey the complexity of the process

Andrew Hudson I'm not sure I'd use 'invade', but it was violent and backed by military force

Neil Hardie What is the problem? Students need to be made to think about alternative meanings and pejorative connotations of historical terms that are too often taken for granted

Frank Winter We talk about the Norman conquest/invasion of 1066, I don't see how this is any different. Australia had people living there for at least 50,000 years. It seems unfair to pretend this never happened

You've also been saying...

@ruthjoyceart Studying hard for my Medieval History MA, then I can read my @HistoryExtra mag which came yesterday - I am just so cool!

@NathanAndrew94 Really enjoying my first edition of @HistoryExtra magazine - very informative and interesting



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Michael Wood on... the world's oldest stories

"Tales such as *Rumpelstiltskin* can be traced back to the Bronze Age"

Readers may recall a fascinating story in the news earlier this year, revealing that the origins of some of the best-known western fairy tales may lie deep in prehistory. Just as the brothers Grimm guessed 200 years ago, tales such as Beauty and the Beast, Jack and the Beanstalk and Rumpelstiltskin can be traced back to the Bronze Age and the spread of the Indo-European languages. It's a fantastic insight into the roots of our storytelling. Despite all our technological wizardry, films such as Batman, Lord of the Rings and Star Wars are still based on conflicts of good and evil, the hero's quest, the fight with the dragon. In other words, we still think like the ancient myths.

Intriguingly, so do our religions. Linguists and anthropologists have recently been trying to see how humanity's sense of religion developed as we moved from hunter-gathering to city-dwelling lifestyles. They now think that there is a matrix of primitive myth that derives from the first human migration out of Africa about 60,000 years ago. These stories are shared today only among sub-Saharan African peoples, along with some small pockets in south India, the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, Papua New Guinea and among native Australians.

We know from DNA studies that this was the route of the earliest migration, skirting the Indian Ocean and on to Australia. Traces of humanity's earliest myths were left behind en route, later isolated by the rise in ocean levels.

Unlike, say, the Bible, these earliest human stories do not feature a creation myth. They take the existence of the Earth for granted; they have humans made out of clay; they have no story of the end of the world (though do include a great flood). Their key theme is how to make life on Earth possible for humans, how to live in balance with the natural world – the Australian Dreamtime mythology is the most detailed version of this.

By contrast, the second great mythic cycle is more recent. It evolved after the second main migration of Homo sapiens out of Africa 40,000 years ago, and has

provided the dominant narrative in the myths – and religions – of the world. Its key elements are shared by virtually all cultures: supreme deities; a creation myth; the story of how heaven was separated from Earth; the killing of the dragon; the overthrow of the older generation of gods; humanity's primordial misdeed (usually by the female); and a trickster deity who brought fire and culture. A great flood as punishment for human hubris is here, too, borrowed from the earlier mythic cycle.

These stories are shared across the world, from the west to India, China and the Americas (carried there from Asia 20,000 years ago). Intriguingly, another common element is the idea of God sending his son, or another deputy, to Earth to be sacrificed. Add to this concepts of salvation, karma, redemption and an afterlife, and you can also see the origin of our more recent ideas about religious eschatology.

Fascinating parallel research into the explosion of cave art from about 40,000 years ago shows how these themes also became subjects for pictorial representation. Today, three-quarters of the Earth's population follow religions drawing on this ancient mythological cycle.

What all this suggests is that when modern human beings came out of Africa, they came with stories that explained their relation to the Earth and the cosmos. The earliest layer was the cosmology of simple huntergatherers. The salvational myths, with their supreme deities, came later, and only rose to their dominant position in human thought once large-scale urban and 'political' civilisation developed across Asia in the past 6,000 years. A later development still – in the Iron Age – was monotheism, which still carries some of the essential forms of the archaic mythic cycles developed in Asia in prehistory.

Only in a handful of far-flung corners of the world did the most ancient human sensibility survive. But incredibly, 60,000 years later, it lives on – not only in those peoples' DNA, but also in their stories. Is it time we listened once more, perhaps?

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. His latest BBC TV series was *The* Story of China. He is preparing a film on humanity's oldest stories





S CENTIDES



History has left us two Thomas Mores - the flawless Catholic saint, and the cruel ogre, hellbent on burning Protestants. Both, however, are fallacies. So who is the real, flesh-and-blood More lurking behind the myth?

by Joanne Paul

s the sun set over London on 30 April 1517, tensions in the city were ready to ignite. The sweating sickness had struck the city the year before, and it had been an especially harsh winter. Londoners vented their miseries against the city's foreigners. Ambassadors fearfully reported that "there was a plot to cut to pieces all the strangers in London" on May Day 1517.

Rapidly losing their nerve, London's officials called a meeting at the Guildhall that very evening. They needed someone with court connections to seek assistance from the Privy Council and the lord chancellor. They decided on a young lawyer and undersheriff of London named Thomas More.

But their efforts came too late. By 11pm violence was breaking out in the heart of the city. Shortly after, More intercepted a group

of rioters in the foreign neighbourhood of St Martin's Le Grand, just north of St Paul's. Faced with a mass of torches and rage, he somehow managed to calm them.

The peace was only momentary. Within seconds, bricks and hot water were hurled down from the windows onto rioters. One of More's companions shouted "Down with them!", and the riot began again. It raged until the early hours of the morning, ending only when the nobles of the court arrived with more than 5,000 troops. Later, the Venetian ambassador noted that the quick response and lack of severe damage was due in large part to the fact that the lord chancellor had been "forewarned". He doesn't mention that it was by More.

Though unfamiliar to us now, this is the image that William Shakespeare, writing several decades later, sought to immortalise in his play Sir Thomas More. Shakespeare gave More a poignant monologue, in which he implores the rioters to consider "the strangers' case" and their own "mountainish inhumanity". The play that Shakespeare co-wrote was shut down by 16th-century censors, who declared that to perform it was "at [the playwrights'] own perils".

Today, More remains a controversial figure, and to write about him retains an edge of peril. Is he a saintly scholar, as presented by the historian RW Chambers and immortalised in Robert Bolt's A Man for All Seasons? Or is he the stubborn zealot described by historians Richard Marius and GR Elton, and famously portrayed in Hilary Mantel's Wolf Hall? We are told we must pick a side.

This division over More's character has its own history. These two 'Mores' were the product of the divide between Protestants and





Catholics, and emerged out of the decades that followed More's death in 1535. As More's extended family produced hagiographic biographies to convince the pope to make him a saint, Elizabethan chroniclers like Edward Hall and John Foxe painted More as a fool and fanatic. To borrow the words of 19th-century socialist Karl Kautsky: "To most of the biographies of More, a certain fragrance of incense clings." It can be difficult to see through the fog.

In order to understand the real Thomas More, not as self-righteous villain nor as saintly hero but as flesh-and-blood individual, we have to find the Thomas More who walked the streets of London and called Cheapside home. We have to understand his cares and his concerns, which were intimately wrapped up with his sense of duty to his community. It is in Cheapside that we will find the man, as separated from the myth.

Destined for greatness

More was born on Milk Street, Cheapside on 7 February 1478. We can be fairly certain of this date, because his father recorded the birth on his copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. He was named after the 12th-century bishop Thomas Becket, who also happens to have been born just steps away from More's home. It seems that from birth the young Thomas More was destined for great things.

Although Cheapside later gained a reputation for poverty, the name comes from the Old English 'ceapan' – to buy. This is why most streets in the area – including Milk Street – refer to the products that could be bought there. More didn't grow up in

lowly Putney, like his adversary Thomas Cromwell, but it was a far cry from the refined country upbringing that many have attributed to him. Although his father was a well-connected lawyer, More's next-closest ancestors were genuinely a brewer, a baker and a candlestick maker.

More's first brush with wealth and power came in 1489, when he joined the household of the lord chancellor, John Morton. Morton's household was at Lambeth Palace, across the Thames from Westminster. At Lambeth, the young More would have overheard England's leading nobles and politicians discuss the tumultuous state of the realm, only years after Henry VII had snatched it from Richard III.

Sponsored by Morton, More spent two years at Oxford, but returned to London with-

"To understand the real Thomas More - the man, not the myth - we have to follow him through the streets of Cheapside" out his degree in 1494 to study law. By 1501, having finished his studies, he was living in or near the Charterhouse, the home of Carthusian monks. Some have suggested that More was 'testing' himself for the religious life, and that his departure and marriage in 1505 is evidence that he was a "sex maniac". However, he may simply have chosen to live nearby, taking advantage of the Charterhouse's widely praised mass and library, while remaining close to the Inns of Court in Holborn and his family in Cheapside.

of Sir Thomas 9 Thomas More II, grandson of Sir Thomas 10 Christopher Cresacre
More, great-grandson of Sir Thomas 11 Maria, wife of Thomas More II

More certainly wasn't a recluse at this time, and he had begun building connections with one of the most powerful guilds in the city: the Mercers' Company. By the 16th century, the guilds – and the Mercers in particular – controlled much of the trade and politics of London. In 1509, the Mercers made More a 'freeman' of the city, and he quickly began to acquire powerful positions, including justice of the peace for Middlesex, MP, and undersheriff of London. He also acquired from the Mercers a house in Bucklersbury, a five-minute walk from his father's home in Milk Street and a stone's throw from the Guildhouse, where city business took place.

In 1515, More was sent to Bruges and Antwerp by Henry VIII and some of London's leading merchants, who knew how accomplished he was in the art of negotiating. By the time he returned, he was in the sights of powerful men like the lord chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, but refused to enter royal

The life of Thomas More



Thomas More is born in Cheapside to Agnes and John More and named after St Thomas Becket

A portrait of a man, possibly Judge John More, Thomas's father

More sits as an MP and becomes undersheriff for London



1489-92

1492-94

1510

More serves in the household of John Morton, the lord chancellor



An illustration of London from c1497

After two years studying at Oxford,

More returns to London to

study the law

An 1852 woodcut shows apprentices rioting in Ludgate on 'Evil May Day' 1517

As undersheriff, More is sent to attempt to calm the riots of Evil May Day 1517. He is largely unsuccessful

More launches a vitriolic attack on Martin Luther on behalf of Henry VIII



The radical German theologian Martin Luther in 1533 More begins his written campaign against heretics, and replaces Cardinal Wolsey as lord chancellor

More is imprisoned in the Tower of London for refusing to take the Oath of Succession, acknowledging Henry VIII as head of the English church



1 May 1517

1518

1523



16 May 1532

17 April 1534

While on a diplomatic mission for Henry VIII, More writes *Utopia*, which is published in Louvain in December 1516



with both Cardinal Wolsey
(above, left) and Henry VIII
(above, right)

The day after the Submission of the Clergy to Henry VIII, **More resigns the chancellorship**



BRIDGEMAN/ALAMY/GETTY/@THE TRUSTESS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM



service. He did not, in his own words, want to "leave my present post in London, which I do prefer even to a higher one". After periods in Lambeth Palace, Oxford, the Charterhouse, Inns of Court and even abroad, More's home, it seemed, would remain in Cheapside.

But the violent riots on the so-called 'Evil May Day' of 1517 changed everything. Historians have overlooked the importance of this moment. More had committed his life to his community, only to see it turn against itself, divided from within. It took the power of the realm to bring order and a sense of unity once again.

By early 1518, More was in the king's service. His sense of duty was redefined, and he now looked not to the city, but to the realm. Within a few years, he moved his entire family out of Cheapside, and to Chelsea, the fashionable village for members of the court, well outside of London proper.

Burning books

On 12 May 1521, almost exactly four years after the Evil May Day Riots, another scene of incendiary rage took place in Cheapside, but this time it was publicly sanctioned. Wolsey, under a golden cloth of state, "as if the pope in person had arrived", presided over a ceremony at St Paul's. As John Fisher, bishop of

Rochester preached a sermon condemning Martin Luther as a heretic, Luther's books were "burned in the church yard". This was the first public book burning in England. But it would not be the last. Within days Wolsey was sending out orders to search homes for copies of Luther's heretical texts.

It is unclear whether or not More was in attendance at the book burning; there is no mention of him in the records. Instead, he was probably with the king, who was ill with a fever. More was, by now, the Master of Requests, which meant that he was almost always at his side, managing the various

"More called Martin Luther a 'privyminded rascal with his ragings and ravings, filth and dung, shitting and beshitted"

entreaties put to the king. In particular, he was the voice of Wolsey to Henry, when the corpulent cardinal could not follow the energetic young king around the country. The letters exchanged show a close relationship between Wolsey and his 'beadsman', or petitioner, More, but there was also a growing relationship between More and the king, By 1521, not even the cardinal could send a letter to Henry without it going through More.

More has been branded a cruel zealot, but books and people were being burned before his rise to power. Twelve people died in the flames under Henry VII, and two more endured this grisly fate in Kent in 1511

for denying that the bread of the Eucharist was the body of Christ.

When More did enter the debate over Lutheranism, it was at the king's request. In 1523, he wrote his *Response to Luther*, answering a scathing attack that the radical German theologian had launched on Henry VIII. Luther had called the king "strumpet-like", "swine", "lying buffoon" and, worst for Henry, "effeminate", and wrote of him vomiting pus and excrement. More responded in kind, calling Luther a "mad friarlet and privy-minded rascal with his ragings and ravings, with his filth and dung, shitting and beshitted". As Erasmus said, More could teach even Luther a thing or two about vehemence. Nevertheless, though More may have exceeded other polemical authors of the time in the level of his vitriol, it was in keeping with their tone - and he wouldn't re-enter this dispute for another six years.

By the end of 1529, More had replaced the fallen Wolsey as lord chancellor and was thus responsible for the maintenance of religious uniformity in England. Two years later, on 20 November 1531, he found himself once again in Cheapside, at St Paul's Cathedral, where Wolsey's book burning had taken place a decade before. This time it was not books that were about to be put to the flame, but a that were about to be put to the flame, but a

person: Richard Bayfield, who would shortly become the first Protestant martyr burned in London.

For More and others of his time, heresy was akin to treason but far more dire, as it was treason against God as well as the king. More feared that such disorder - caused, in his view, by pride – would lead to anarchy, and he saw evidence of this in the nascent wars of religion on the continent. As he put it: "The Catholic church did never persecute heretics by any temporal pain or any secular power until the heretics began such violence themselves." In other words, for More, the heretics started it.

His dedication to his community had been redefined once again, moving from the realm, to the whole of Christendom, which he saw as a single body of people, stretching across time and space. The heretics threatened to tear that community apart, which is what made their crime so much worse than treason.

Fire and hell

We cannot know how much of a personal hand More took in the fight against heresy in England. He denied allegations that he tortured evangelicals in his own backyard, but did maintain that he had and would punish them, just as he would any thief or murderer who would be likely to cause more pain if he was allowed to go free.

In England and elsewhere this punishment had long been by fire, a position he supported whole-heartedly. Comparing heretics to branches cut off from the vine of Christ, More wrote that they would be "kept but for the fire first here and after in hell", unless "they repent and call for grace, that may graft them into the stock again". Following Bayfield's execution, two more men would be burned as heretics in London under More's chancellorship. Many more would follow his resignation as chancellor in May 1532.

He submitted that resignation in protest at the Submission of the Clergy (in which the Church of England had given up its power to formulate church laws without Henry's assent) and the declaration of the king as head of his own Church in England.

It was a dangerous move. The ground had shifted beneath More, and the position he had once adopted to support the king, now became an attack on him. Defending Christendom was not the same thing as defending England. More prioritised the former. He was not oblivious to the perils involved. By 1534, he had already escaped the charge of treason once, if not twice. He would not escape it again.

As 16th-century biographers tell it, More's Cheapside, like so many of the key events in



Burning for his beliefs An illustration from John Foxe's Actes and Monuments shows the burning of Richard Bayfield in 1531. Bayfield was one of three men burned as heretics in London while Thomas More was lord chancellor

"More denied that he tortured evangelicals in his backyard but maintained that he had and would punish them"

would have followed the familiar route along Cheapside back to his old home in Bucklersbury. Heading north after exiting the cathedral, he would have turned right at St Martin's Le Grand, where he had confronted the mob on Evil May Day. Shortly afterwards, he would have passed Milk Street on his left, where he was born and grew up. Bucklersbury was only a few streets down, where his adoptive daughter and her husband lived.

At some point during this short walk, More was stopped and handed a summons to appear before the Privy Council at Lambeth Palace. He never returned to Cheapside. Within a few days, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was executed on 6 July 1535 for refusing to acknowledge Henry VIII as head of his own church in England. He died attempting to defend his sense of community, which, for him, was threatened

every bit as much by Henry as the heretics.

There is an old saying: "In order to truly know someone, you must walk a mile in their shoes." For More, that mile is from a little side street in Cheapside to St Paul's Cathedral and back again. By retracing these steps we come to know More neither as saint or villain, but flesh-and-blood individual, who was dedicated to his community, whether Cheapside, England or all of Christendom.

It can be tempting to take up positions like Shakespeare's More, railing against the "mountainish inhumanity" of figures in the past. But this clouds our view of how someone like More was in fact attempting to defend his view of humanity, no matter how villainous we may think it now. As More himself wrote: "Let historians begin to show either prejudice or favouritism, and who will there be to lend any credence at all to histories?"

Dr Joanne Paul is a historian of political ideas and the renaissance at New College of the Humanities, London. She has written a book on Thomas More, which will be published by Polity in October

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LISTEN AGAIN

► To listen to an Archive on 4 exploration of Thomas More's Utopia - and its impact on thinkers in the 500 years since it was first published – go to bbc.co.uk/programmes/b06vg1ph

Turn over to read more about Thomas More's famous work of political philosophy, Utopia

More's island paradise

In 1516, Thomas More published *Utopia*, his book about an idealised island society. It's one of the most influential of all works of political philosophy, and gave us the term 'Utopian'. But, asks **Joanne Paul**, what lessons did it have to teach Tudor England?

Private property is dangerous

The primary difference between Thomas More's fictional island, Utopia, and Tudor England is that, while the latter was increasingly built on a foundation of individual property ownership, all property in Utopia was held in common.

Enclosure was a source of massive unrest in Henry VIII's England. Most villages and parishes had a plot of common land, which could be shared among all. Increasingly, however, landowners were 'enclosing' bits of that common land for their own exclusive usage.

For More, enclosure was about more than just running out of common land – it was a metaphor for the ways in which individual interest was tearing apart the commonwealth. By making all of Utopia shared land, More mounted a critique both of the practice of enclosure and the greed that underpinned it.

Women should know their place

Utopia was egalitarian in many ways, but on the issue of gender there were few differences from More's England. In both countries, women's role was directly subordinate to men.

To More, women's equality implied anarchy.

Although there would not be major advances in equality between the sexes for centuries, *Utopia* sits on the precipice of changes that would see women's choices and influence in early modern England grow. The Reformation expanded women's role in religion and within the

household, while the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I elevated women's positions in the court and set a precedent for their involvement in politics.

The only major gender-equality innovation in Utopia is that both sexes are educated together and in the same way. This was part of More's own vision for the education of his daughters, whose humanist schooling won them fame across Europe. The value in this, however, lay primarily in the cultivation of their womanly virtues, including obedience to their fathers and husbands.

"By making all of Utopia shared land, More mounted a critique both of the practice of enclosure and the greed that underpinned it"







3 Only animals wage war

The Utopians condemn war in the same terms as More's humanist friends, as "fit only for beasts" For the humanists, people ought to be united by common bonds of humanity and Christianity, not torn apart by greed and self-interest, which they saw as the primary motivators for most European wars. As the Dutch humanist Erasmus wrote: "The god of nature, created the human animal not for war, but for love and friendship; not for mutual destruction, but for mutual service and safety...

In Utopia, More criticises the war-mongering of kings such as Henry VIII, who was in the midst of a war with France. For More, monarchs' self-interested. expansionist policies served to rip the commonwealth to shreds. As he wrote in a poem published alongside Utopia in 1518: "Among many kings there will be scarcely one, if there is really one, who is satisfied to have one kingdom. And yet among many kings there will be scarcely one, if there is really one, who rules a single kingdom well."

4 Don't be a slave to trinkets

In order to ensure they share everything in common, Utopians devalue those things that others particularly covet, such as precious metals and gems. More writes that they do so by making their chamber pots (toilets) out of gold and silver, as well as using them for slaves' chains and marking out criminals. Jewels are given to children to play with.

More intended this as a powerful lesson. People are enslaved by their golden chains, criminals are known for their love of jewellery, and there's something childish about our obsession with gems.

This is a striking critique of the greed that More saw prevalent in the Tudor court. Henry VIII was especially known for his grand displays of wealth. In 1515, just months before More started writing Utopia, the Venetian ambassador wrote a letter describing the large gemstones the king wore - including a diamond the "size of the largest walnut I ever saw" - and his fingers, which were "one mass of jewelled rings". In Utopia, the king would be considered a slave, criminal and fool for such a display, and More might well agree.

5 The people know best

More's Utopia is a republic. Each city elects a 'prince' who rules alongside an elected council. The cities elect three representatives to sit in a grand council or assembly, which governs the entire country. There is no hereditary monarch or concept of divine-right kingship.

This is very different from the political system in England, in which monarchs justified their claim to the throne through lines of inheritance and divine right. More, however, was not alone in considering the benefits of a republican system. Many humanists sought to finds ways of bolstering the power of other political institutions, such

as representative councils and parliament.

More often writes of consent of the people "bestowing sovereignty" and that a king "ought to have command not one instant longer than his subjects wish". For More, the rule of a king was legitimate, because the people had authorised its existence over a long period of time. But, importantly, political power ultimately resided with the people and their representative assembly. In a political environment such as England. it was a message that More could only communicate through the creation of his fantastic island: Utopia. III



L ARMY MUSEUM/GETTY IMAGES

Before 1944's battle of the Admin Box, the British were the whipping boys of the Burma campaign. After the battle, they had the supposedly invincible Japanese on the run. **James Holland** explores one of the Second World War's forgotten turning points

n the night of 9 February
1944 – deep in the
province of Arakan
in western Burma –
Trooper Norman
Bowdler of the 25th
Dragoons' C squadron
was on turret duty.

He was struggling to keep his eyes open.

He was struggling to keep his eyes open. Following three successive nights of ferocious Japanese attacks, he, along with every other man in his crew, was absolutely exhausted.

Out in front, to the north, was an open paddy field, swathed in a low mist that came up to a man's waist. Bowdler could see the soft outline of the hills and the Mayu range of mountains beyond. The rest of his crew were down in their trench, asleep, when suddenly Bowdler heard a strange creaking noise. Immediately he found his sleepiness had vanished as every sinew in his body strained to this warning sound of imminent danger.

A moment later, to his horror, Bowdler saw a line of figures emerging out of the mist, running straight towards him – already not much more than 50 metres away. "Really, really close," he recalled. His heart lurched and for a split second he thought his time had come. But the others on turret duty had spotted the enemy, too, and quickly the shooting started. "The moment they appeared out of the mist like that," said Bowdler, "everybody in the unit seemed to open fire all at once..."

Smoke and shells

The advancing enemy troops immediately dropped to the ground, sheltering behind the paddy bunds; since Bowdler could no longer see a specific target, he decided to hold his fire. None of his mates were so particular, though, and continued shooting, flashes of fire and tracer tearing the night apart so that soon the stench of cordite and smoke from spent shells was heavy on the air. Bowdler was waiting for one of the Japanese to actually jump up onto his tank, and had his Tommy gun ready as well as his pistol and a number of grenades.

Still the Dragoons continued their display of firepower, until the smoke was getting so

"As the British displayed in a blaze of firepower, the newly renamed Admin Box was to be held from its Japanese assailants at all costs"

thick and rolling back on them that they were in real danger of giving the enemy a perfect

smokescreen from which to crawl forward and renew their attack. Eventually, though, and much to Norman Bowdler's relief, someone shouted "Ceasefire!" From being engulfed by an indescribable din one moment, in the next there was suddenly deathly quiet once more, except for the cries of some wounded Japanese out in the paddy.

Bowdler kept quiet and continued to grip his Tommy gun, but no more Japanese appeared through the mist that night. Whether the Dragoons had been right or wrong to fire so excessively was debatable, but it had certainly stopped the enemy before them in their tracks.

And not a moment too soon. Since the Japanese 55th Infantry Division had launched a surprise attack on the 7th Indian Division's administrative area four nights earlier, they'd given Allied positions in the Arakan a serious mauling. The Japanese had overrun the divisional headquarters and cut off the crucial Ngakyedauk Pass, the Allies' only link to the main supply routes in and out of the Arakan. On 7 February they'd attacked the division's main dressing station – shooting, bayoneting and hacking to death with swords the wounded as well as medical staff. The screams had gone on long into the night. It had been a slaughter.

With the administration area surrounded, it fell to Brigadier Geoff Evans to organise its defence. Hastily turning the administrative area into a defensive box, Evans made sure every man – whether a clerk or cook – had a weapon, and ordered them all to stand and fight. As Norman Bowdler and his colleagues had displayed in a blaze of firepower on the night of the ninth, the newly renamed Admin Box was to be held at all costs.

Humiliated no more

In the months leading up to the battle of the Admin Box, much had changed in the Allied camp. Since the Japanese had first invaded Burma two years earlier, the British had suffered one humiliation after another. In November 1943, however, a new Allied command had been created to unite British forces as well as

American and Chinese. South-East Asia Command (SEAC) also gained a fresh-faced supreme commander in Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten. At 43, he was young and, despite sitting on the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, was inexperienced at high command. Yet there was no doubting his charisma, energy and vision, and he immediately won over the difficult US

commander in the theatre.



Louis Mountbatten (top) and Bill Slim. Their energy and vision were to turn the forlorn British Army into a formidable fighting force

Burma



Eastern catastrophes

Before the fightback in the Admin Box, British forces had hit rock bottom in Burma in 1942 and '43...

Shortly after their entry into the war, the Japanese seized Malaya and Singapore, and soon had the British on the run in Burma, too. The loss of Burma was not only a humiliating blow militarily but also damaged British prestige. It was followed by civil unrest in India – and then came the Bengal famine, one of the region's worst ever humanitarian disasters.

Late in 1942, General Noel Irwin, commander of what was then called Eastern Army, launched a strike into the Arakan in western Burma, only for his forces to receive a bloody nose. After five months of bitter and bloody fighting, in which men had repeatedly been flung ineffectively at the Japanese networks of bunkers, they found themselves back where they had started. It had been a further dismal, humiliating failure.

Then, in 1943, the maverick British general Orde Wingate launched his first Chindit expedition – employing guerrilla tactics to harry Japanese forces behind enemy lines in northeast Burma. By the autumn of that year, Wingate had won backing for a much bigger operation in the spring of 1944, despite the very questionable results of the first operation. This was to prove a further drain on General Slim's meagre resources – and it wasn't until victory in the battle of the Admin Box that Britain's habit of losing in the east would be reversed.



Airmen relax alongside a Spitfire between sorties. Britain's fast, manoeuvrable fighter plane was introduced to combat in Burma in late 1943, helping to secure the skies

General Joe Stilwell, as well as Chinese generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Mountbatten immediately appointed General Bill Slim as his new 14th Army commander, based on little more than gut instinct. It was to prove a shrewd decision. Slim had been in the theatre since the beginning and had repeatedly proved himself, standing out while others around him flailed and failed. He now wasted no time in tackling what he viewed as the four big failings of the British so far.

Cutting the red tape

First was the problem of logistics. Burma was one of the most difficult places in the world in which to fight. There was little infrastructure, distances were vast, and getting supplies to the front was difficult, to say the least. Cutting through red tape, constructing new roads and passes, and building up forward stockpiles, by early 1944 the situation was improving.

The second was illness. Malaria, typhoid, dysentery, blood poisoning and dengue fever were rampant. In the autumn of 1943, men in the 14th Army were falling sick at a rate of 1,200 each day. By imposing draconian measures to ensure the men took malaria pills, and by setting up forward treatment units, the health of the army soon improved, too.

The third was training. Every single man needed to learn how to fight and, more importantly, how to use the jungle to his advantage, rather than fear it. Troops were taught rigorous patrolling and improved skills in camouflage, while a more asymmetrical approach to fighting the Japanese was encouraged. Slim also drummed into every man that there could be no more retreats.

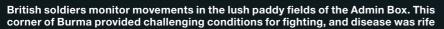
The final challenge, and possibly Slim's toughest, was to improve morale. The men called themselves the Forgotten Army; in their minds they had built up the Japanese into supermen whose cruelty and barbarism were understandably feared. Low morale was endemic but, by improving conditions, training and health, and boosting resolve, the 14th Army began to change. And during the clearing of forward enemy positions in December 1943 and January 1944, the fruits of these changes began to become evident.

There was a further component, however, and that was an overhaul of Allied air forces, in which Mountbatten played a key part. Spitfires were introduced, as were improved radar and ground control, and soon these agile planes were knocking the Japanese Oscars and Zeroes out of the sky – dogfights that were watched by those on the ground, further boosting morale. By the end of January 1944, the British had gained air superiority over the Arakan front, so the final piece in the jigsaw could be put into place: forward air supply. If troops were to stand firm and fight, they needed to be supplied in the field, and this could only be done by air drops: Dakotas and Commandos flying low and dropping supplies right on top of them.

Every British commander, from Mountbatten down to battalion and company, understood that further failure against the Japanese was now unthinkable. The war against Germany was being won, and the Americans were in the ascendancy in the Pacific. SEAC might be bottom of the priority list, but that was no excuse. Defeat *had* to be turned into victory.

Yet though the 14th Army was about to launch its own offensive in the Arakan, the







Men of the Royal Scots with a captured flag following the clearing of Japanese from Payan in January 1945

Japanese had stolen a march. They struck first in what was to be a two-fisted punch, initially in the Arakan, with the aim of encircling and destroying first 7th Division, then 5th Division to the west of the Mayu Range. After that they would draw in British reserves there before launching the main strike far to the north-east at Imphal – and then press on into India.

The Japanese had assumed that the British would do what they had always done - cut and run. But the men of 7th Division, both the forward brigades and those at the Admin Box, stood their ground. The battle lasted 18 days, and the men at the box never budged despite repeated attacks, despite constant shelling, mortaring and sniping, despite the rapidly rising stench of rotting corpses, and despite the growing number of wounded.

At the centre of the box was General Frank Messervy, who escaped the overrunning of his divisional HQ and took his place among his men, revolver by his side and rifle slung over his shoulder. While he continued to command his division, Brigadier Evans was left to manage the battle. Key to this was active patrolling and the blasting of enemy positions in the surrounding hills by the tanks of the 25th

moving was to be shot. The Japanese flung more and more men at the battle with increasing desperation. Running out of ammunition and rations, the troops formerly considered

Dragoons. By night, each unit

were in their trenches. Anyone

strictly remained where they

in Burma plummeted after the debacle of the Admin Box, Here a Japanese soldier surrenders near Bago in 1945

"The Admin Box provided the formula for the British to drive the Japanese out of **Burma. Mountbatten** claimed that it was as important a turning point as Alamein"

those two and a half weeks, completely broken - so much so that as the Admin Box was relieved and the Ngakyedauk Pass opened once more, General Messervy was able to go straight back onto the offensive. Soon he was pushing the enemy back – this time for good.

It was a devastating blow for the Japanese, and severely upset their plans for their invasion of Assam in north-east India. All of the senior commanders involved offered to commit seppuku, although imperial

Japanese fortunes

headquarters recognised that losing them in a mass suicide was hardly going to help. Japanese efforts in the subsequent battles of Imphal and Kohima – in which the Allies extinguished Japanese plans to invade India, and drove the enemy back into Burma - were arguably doomed before they began because of defeat in the Admin Box.

Fortitude and stoicism

For the British, it marked a significant turning point. "It was a victory," wrote Captain Anthony Irwin, who had fought at Dunkirk as well as in the Admin Box, "not so much over the Japs but over our fears." That was true, but it was also the first time the British had ever beaten the Japanese in a significant battle.

The Admin Box provided the formula for the British to go on and drive the Japanese out of Burma. Mountbatten claimed that it was as important a turning point as Alamein. It certainly deserves to be better remembered.

It is also an extraordinary story of heroism, fortitude and stoicism. For those who lived through it, it was a nightmare: a battle of brutal attrition that devastated a tiny corner of Burma, which quickly became a stinking, ravaged area of death and destruction. "The place," said Norman Bowdler, "was hell by the time we got out." III

James Holland is an author and historian. His books include The War in the West: Germany Ascendant, 1939-1941 (Bantam, 2015)

DISCOVER MORE

▶ Burma '44: The Battle That Turned Britain's War in the East by James Holland (Bantam, April 2016)

Arevealing history of underwear

From riotously colourful corsets and 'virile' Y-fronts to punk-rock leggings, underwear has long possessed a rare ability to push creative boundaries and spark moral outrage. **Edwina Ehrman**, curator of a new Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition, introduces **Spencer Mizen** to seven of the most influential designs of the past 300 years



◀ When men went mad for Y-fronts

Today, they're the butt of countless jokes but, in the 1930s, 'virile' men couldn't buy briefs fast enough

Y-fronts have endured a dubious reputation over the past 30 years, arguably hitting an all-time low when *The Guardian* printed a cartoon of Edwina Currie wearing a pair of John Major's pants on her head. But, says Edwina Ehrman, when Arthur Kneibler's 'Jockey briefs' first appeared in America in 1935, they were enormously popular.

"Until the 1930s, men were often condemned to wearing ill-fitting woollen pants," she says. "Suddenly, with the Y-front, they had a tailored, snug-fitting fashion item that offered plenty of support."

And, as the 1950s display figure, shown left, demonstrates, it wasn't long before British men had caught the brief bug.

"The Scottish knitwear company Lyle & Scott obtained the licence to sell Y-fronts in Britain in 1938, and they'd soon become a symbol of masculinity and agility," says Ehrman. "So, during the Second World War, advertising would feature models stood in their briefs next to tanks."

And what did the British team choose as its official underwear for the 1948 Olympic Games? Yes, you guessed it: Y-fronts.



Bold as brass

This piece of jewellery from 1970 is, believe it or not, a bra - though you won't have found it in the shops

Corsets reigned supreme until the turn of the 20th century when the bra – originally known as 'bust supporters' – became widely available, and changed the face of underwear for good.

Countless bras have been produced since then – but perhaps none quite like this beaten brass piece, lined with suede, which was the creation of the British jeweller Helen Newman in 1970.

"Newman's bra captures a particular moment in fashion history when designers began

creating items that drew attention to certain parts of the body, rather than hiding them," explains Ehrman. "Underwear suddenly started to be worn as overwear – and revealing items like hotpants took centre stage."

It may look like a triumph of form over functionality but, in case you're wondering, Newman's bra actually works: the top section pulls apart and goes round the neck, while the spiral at the bottom curls round under the breast and covers the nipple.





▲ Supporting act

In the 1770s, haute couture outfits were surprisingly reliant on what lay beneath the surface

"The primary function of underwear has always been to form a barrier between the skin and the clothing," says Ehrman, "keeping the latter as free from dirt as possible."

It has always been thus. But, by the time a woman named Miss Davis had bought the stays, shift and hoop pictured above from a London supplier in 1778, it had taken on another role as well: conveying the wearer's elevated status.

"How people moved was incredibly important in displaying their rank," says Ehrman.
"And underwear – especially corsets, which pulled the shoulders back and made the wearer more erect – played a vital role ensuring that a woman moved with poise and elegance."

It was also vital that underwear complement the expensive clothes worn over it. "The stays, shift and hoop are designed to support a wide skirt required for formal dress," says Ehrman. "The dress wouldn't have looked quite right without support from high-quality underwear – which is why Miss Davis bought it."

▼ Look at my legs

Georgian dandies loved to show off their assets, with the help of Spain's finest stockings

It wasn't just women who chose to make a statement through their choice of underwear. Whoever stepped out in these knitted silk stockings in the mid-18th century – we think it was a man, though we can't be entirely sure – was certainly trying to make an impression with his legs. And it seems that he wasn't alone. "In this period, legs were regarded as an

important weapon in a man's fashion armoury," says Ehrman, "and the elite were actively encouraged to show them off to their advantage – even being taught how to do so by dancing masters."

These stockings – made in Spain and featuring birds and trees running up the outside leg – would have helped a wealthy young man do just that.



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▲ The shame of nudity

Punk culture meets the Garden of Eden in <u>Vivienne Westwood's skin-coloured leggings</u>

In the late 20th century, underwear designers were armed with an array of textiles of which their predecessors could only dream – nylon and lycra among them. This enabled the likes of Vivienne Westwood – who delighted in challenging conventional attitudes to sex and nudity – to produce ever more adventurous designs.

But, for all the modernity of her work, Westwood's flesh-coloured leggings from 1989 (above) are full of historical references.

"Westwood explained that her design was inspired by the buck-skin breeches worn by men for country pursuits in the 18th century - the best quality were skin tight and moulded themselves to the wearer's body," says Ehrman. "And, of course, the fig leaf refers to the shame that Adam and Eve felt at their nudity in the Garden of Eden. Ironically, by making the leaf out of mirror glass, Westwood is almost making it impossible for the eye not to be drawn to the genitals."



▲ Exposed to the elements

James Gillray's cartoon of three aristocrats wearing figure-hugging dresses outraged polite society

"Underwear always has a sexual edge," says Ehrman. "Because it's worn next to the skin, even the plainest garments can have an erotic charge."

To the modern eye, the attire worn by *The Graces in a High Wind* (shown above) is anything but erotic. Yet when James Gillray produced this risqué cartoon in 1810, many people would have considered their figure-hugging muslin dresses deeply shocking.

"The mainstream took lower-body modesty very seriously at this time," says Ehrman, "and so most women wore these dresses with several layers of heavier undergarments. However the 'three Graces' [all daughters of the baronet Sir William Manners] chose to push the boundaries and wear them with little underneath."

And so when the wind blew and the muslin clung to the women's bodies, the delineation of their buttocks and crotch were revealed – much to the horror of middle England when Gillray committed their travails to print.

Edwina Ehrman is the curator of Undressed: A Brief History of Underwear, and author of *Undressed* (V&A Publishing, 2016)

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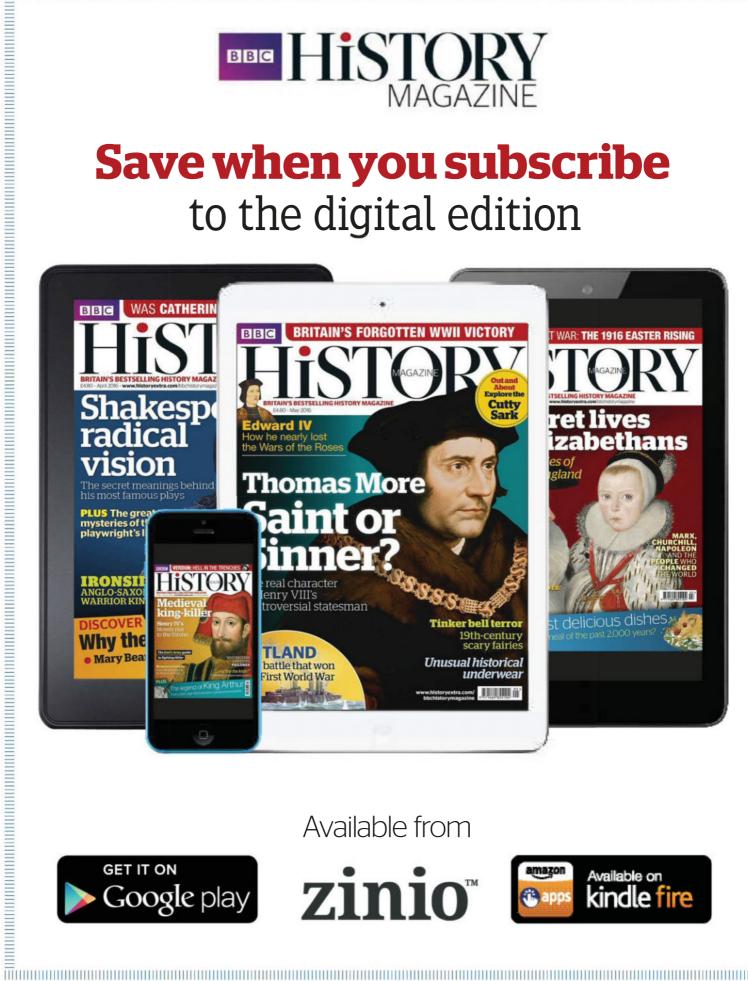
EXHIBITION

► Undressed: A Brief History of Underwear is at the V&A until 12 March 2017. For more information, go to *vam.ac.uk*



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EDWARDIV CHAMPION OF THE WARSOF THE ROSES

The first Yorkist king of England was given short shrift by Shakespeare. Yet **AJ Pollard**, author of a new book on Edward, argues that he was a remarkable military leader who decisively won the bloody, dynastic conflict



hakespeare did not have much time for Edward IV. None of his history plays are dedicated to England's first Yorkist king. Instead, the writer split that monarch's reign between two plays: Henry VI, Part 3 and Richard III – and Edward almost disappears between the two. A shallow, fickle man, he is overshadowed first by the heroic Warwick 'the Kingmaker', then by his own villainous younger brother. In Richard III, the second part of his reign (1471–83) is reduced to five scenes, in which the king is a bit player in all but two. Rendered sick and pliable, Edward is largely irrelevant to the course of events as he is manipulated by the Machiavellian Richard.

In part, Shakespeare's representation reflected a Tudor perception that Henry VI was the legitimate king until 1471, but this depiction also emerged from the playwright's instinct - which decreed that Richard III was a more dramatic subject. But though that might make compelling theatre, it is a travesty of history.

Edward's eventful life began in Rouen on 28 April 1442. He was the eldest surviving son of Richard, Duke of York (then serving as governor and lieutenant general of the Englishheld duchy of Normandy) and his duchess, Cecily Neville. Edward spent much of his childhood at Ludlow, where he was brought up to succeed to the Marcher inheritance of the Mortimer family, from whom he was descended through his paternal grandmother.

Edward was just a boy when he became Earl of March, and at the age of 13 became embroiled in a civil war when his father rebelled against the Lancastrian king Henry VI, sparking the Wars of the Roses. Edward fled to Calais in the company of his cousin Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick ('the Kingmaker') after the rout of Ludford Bridge in October 1459. They returned in 1460 and defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton in July. That autumn his father laid claim to the throne in place of Henry VI. Denied the crown at that time. York was instead installed as heir – but on 30 December 1460 he was killed at the battle of Wakefield.

A fair white rose

On becoming duke, Edward, who was then in the Welsh Marches, acted with precocious confidence, speed and decisiveness. Still only 17, and now fully in command, he overwhelmed the local Lancastrian forces at Mortimer's Cross. Moving rapidly on London, and rallying en route the remnants of Warwick's army that had been defeated at St Albans, Edward reached the capital before the main Lancastrian army.



Fragile majesty Edward IV's coat of arms features in a stained glass window at the Great Hall in Winchester

"By 1464 Edward began to enjoy himself jousting, hunting, feasting and womanising. He had a penchant for young widows"

There, through a hastily rigged 'election', he made himself king on 4 March and immediately pursued his enemies north. He caught up with them in Yorkshire and routed them on the field of Towton on 29 March. Returning to Westminster in triumph he was crowned on 28 June. Thus did the teenage Edward IV transform his family's fortunes and win the first round of the Wars of the Roses, which his father and Warwick had almost lost.

There was great hope of a new beginning. "Let us make us a gay garden... with this fair white rose... the Earl of March," ran a verse composed when Edward first became king. Yet it took time – longer, in fact, than expected – for him to establish himself securely on the throne. The far north of England was not finally subdued until 1464, and the distant north-west of Wales held out until 1468. Edward's deposed

predecessor, the feeble Henry VI, was at large until 1465. Even after Henry was captured and incarcerated in the Tower, his son and heir, Edward of Westminster, was safe in exile with his mother, Margaret of Anjou in France, representing a focus for further resistance.

At first Edward was able to hold his own. He was, though, in the shadow of and dependent on support from the powerful Warwick - an older and experienced politician - along with the Neville family and their followers, and members of the Yorkist family affinity who had been promoted to positions of authority.

And the young Edward was his own worst enemy. He was tall and imposing, reputedly one of the most handsome princes of his age. He fought and worked hard to establish himself on the throne at the very beginning. But by 1464 he began to take his ease and enjoy himself in the typical pursuits of a young aristocrat: jousting, hunting, feasting and womanising. He had a particular penchant for young widows. A bachelor still, a marriage alliance with a European power was an important diplomatic card and was being actively pursued by Warwick. But in 1464 Edward secretly married an English widow, Elizabeth Woodville, behind Warwick's back. Initially the 'Kingmaker' accepted the fait accompli, but it marked the beginning of a rift between them - a schism that intensified when the king began to empower members of the queen's family, especially her father, Earl Rivers, as a counterweight to Warwick.

Deposition and recovery

By the end of 1467, after Edward completed a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy that had been opposed by Warwick, king and Kingmaker were at loggerheads. In 1469 Warwick moved against the man he considered beholden to him, thus launching the second round of the Wars of the Roses. In truth, a usurper would always need to be wary of powerful supporters, and Edward IV cannot be faulted for seeking to distance himself from the Nevilles and build up his own independent power. But he was deceitful in his dealings with Warwick and complacent about the consequences.

At first, in 1469, Warwick sought to control the king by





Hapless monarch Henry VI, pictured on the throne in a 15th-century illustration. The luckless king held the throne twice, but several political and military failures sealed his fate

force. When that did not work, the following spring he sought to replace Edward with the king's brother George, Duke of Clarence, to whom Warwick married his eldest daughter, Isabel. Finally, when that strategy also failed, Warwick fled to France, where Louis XI brokered a reconciliation with Margaret of Anjou and the House of Lancaster.

In October 1470 Warwick invaded England with French support and restored to the throne the hapless Henry VI. Outmanoeuvred, Edward and a handful of his closest followers fled to Holland. Edward had promised, one informed contemporary remarked, "to restore peace and prosperity, but instead there had been nothing but trouble and loss of goods". The kingdom as a whole welcomed the restored Henry VI. The house of Lancaster was seen as the better bet, and the usurpation of the Duke of York seemed to have come to an end.

In March 1471 Edward took one last desperate gamble. Sponsored by the Duke of Burgundy, but with very few men, he landed at the mouth of the Humber. Once more a hopeless situation became a triumph. Gradually gathering support from his old loyal servants and with the timely turn of coat of his brother George, he first destroyed Warwick at the battle of Barnet on 14 April, then on 4 May defeated a Lancastrian army, newly arrived in England under Margaret of Anjou, at Tewkesbury.

In that battle the young Lancastrian Edward, Prince of Wales, was killed – perhaps murdered after the fighting had ended. His death sealed the fate of Henry VI, who was himself murdered in the Tower on the night of 21 May. All of Edward's enemies, Nevilles and Lancastrians, had been vanquished. As a bonus, during his absence Elizabeth Woodville had given birth to his first son, the future Edward V. By such a remarkable change of fortune Edward was now not only

king again but finally secure on the throne. To all intents and purposes, the Wars of the Roses – two of them, at least – were over.

In fear of no one

It took Edward two more years to impose his authority completely. In an effort to unite his kingdom he adopted a well-worn strategy: he embarked on a war with France. Considerable effort was expended diplomatically, politically and logistically to forge an alliance against Louis XI, to raise taxes from parliament and to raise troops and supplies. He was on schedule when, in July 1475, he launched his attack. But at the last minute he was abandoned by his chief ally, Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Rather than fight the French alone, Edward came to terms at Picquigny and accepted a generous pension (or tribute, as he called it) from Louis XI. Declaring that he had won a great victory without striking a blow, he returned home.

In truth, it was an ignominious anticlimax. But though it did nothing to unite the kingdom behind him, it does not seem to have weakened Edward's standing. More threatening was another quarrel with Clarence, which culminated in a show trial in parliament; the duke was found guilty of treason, and in February 1478 was put to death. Yet he was guilty only of insubordination, not treason, and the judicial murder of Edward's brother was a vicious act that shocked contemporaries. After it, as a well-placed commentator later remarked: "He could rule as he pleased throughout the whole kingdom [and] appeared to be feared by all his subjects while he himself stood in fear of no one."

Thus Edward became untouchable. The long hoped-for peace and prosperity finally came. At the centre of a splendid court, his finances on a sounder footing, he exuded wealth, power and authority. Now with an heir and a spare, all looked well for the future

The rise and fall of Edward IV

28 April 1442

Edward is born in Rouen, son of Richard, Duke of York and Duchess Cecily. Because he was born abroad, rumours of illegitimacy later spread.

30 December 1460

Richard is killed at the battle of Wakefield; Edward becomes duke.

4 March 1461

Edward seizes the throne, and goes on to destroy a large Lancastrian army at Towton on 29 March, finally being crowned on 28 June.

1 May 1464

Edward secretly marries Elizabeth Woodville (pictured).

1467

Edward forges an alliance with the duchy of Burgundy, leading to an open rift with Warwick.

October 1470

Edward flees to Holland and Henry VI is restored by Warwick.

March-May 1471

Edward recovers the throne, defeating Warwick at Barnet on 14 April and Margaret of Anjou at Tewkesbury on 4 May. Henry VI is murdered on 21 May.

July-August 1475

Edward invades France and is bought off at the Treaty of Picquigny (29 August).

18 February 1478

George, Duke of Clarence, is executed in the Tower of London by means unknown.

9 April 1483

Edward IV dies at Westminster after a short illness. The new king, his 12-year-old son Edward V, is deposed three months later by the Duke of Gloucester, the young king's uncle, who takes the throne as Richard III (pictured).

King defeats Kingmaker The battle of Barnet on 14 April 1471 saw Edward IV triumph over Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick – his cousin and former mentor. Less than three weeks later, Edward crushed Lancastrian forces at the battle of Tewkesbury where Edward of Lancaster, heir to Henry VI, was killed, sealing his father's fate later that month

of a Yorkist dynasty, Edward could indulge himself without fear of opposition.

Yet his regime remained the rule of a faction that had won power in a civil war, and was overly dependent in the regions on a favoured loyal few – especially, in the north, on his youngest (and only surviving) brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. As the years passed, more great lords who were not part of the inner circle became alienated, especially by the manner in which the king perverted the law to favour members of his family.

Down again

From 1475 onwards Edward went to seed, and by the early 1480s the once-handsome youth had run to fat as a result of excessive eating and drinking. His unhealthy lifestyle probably brought on his early death. He was not yet 42 when, at the end of March 1483, he fell ill, probably from a stroke. He died on 9 April and was buried with great ceremony in St George's Chapel, Windsor.

His tomb was never completed. The deposition three months later of his heir, Edward V, then only 12, was completely unexpected. Had Edward IV lived for a further four years, his son would have succeeded without challenge. Moreover, no one anticipated that the threat to the succession would come from - of all people – the new king's uncle, Richard of Gloucester, who took on the responsibility of governing the kingdom during his minority. But because of the fault lines in Edward IV's regime, the ruthless Gloucester was able to depose his nephew and make himself King Richard III; there were just too many disaffected lords who were ready to support the usurper. Two years later, the dynasty fell.

The Wars of the Roses, if understood as the dynastic conflict between the rival royal houses of Lancaster and York, were won by Edward IV. He was twice the comeback kid, in 1461 and 1471. His military achievement was remarkable. He won every battle he fought six in total. His method was simple: get at the enemy as soon as possible, and engage them in hand-to-hand combat on foot. He led by example: "manly, vigorously and valiantly in the midst and strongest" of his enemies until they were overwhelmed. Yet, as one contemporary commented: "He was not cut out for war," which he avoided if he could. By inclination he was a man of peace – a man who preferred to enjoy the pleasures of peace.

Edward's political ability and standing as a monarch are, on the other hand, harder to assess. He has been characterised as one of the greatest of English kings, a man of profound political ability who rescued his kingdom from a shambles and left his dynasty secure on the throne. But he has also been portrayed as a mere pleasure-seeker who lacked judgment



Silver sovereign A hammered silver groat dating from Edward's first reign (1461–70). Still only a teenager when he took the throne, he depended at first on the Earl of Warwick

"Edward won every battle he fought. He led by example: "manly, vigorously and valiantly in the midst and strongest" of his enemies"

and was largely ineffective as a monarch, failing to reunite his kingdom after civil war. In truth, he was both: sometimes one, sometimes the other, and even on occasion both at the same time.

However we might envisage this enigmatic king, Edward IV's dynasty did not survive his premature death. The plots, rebellions and battles after 1483 contested his legacy and for this he bore some responsibility. Yet this upheaval was not a continuation of the dynastic conflict between Lancaster and York, though it suited Henry VII to present himself as heir to Lancaster – healing the dynastic division by marrying Edward's daughter, Elizabeth of York. Edward IV had ended the original Wars of the Roses in 1471; what followed his death was merely an extended coda.

AJ Pollard is a medieval historian and professor emeritus at Teeside University. His new book Edward IV: The Summer King, in the Penguin Monarchs series, is published by Allen Lane in July

DISCOVER MORE

TELEVISION

► The BBC's Shakespeare Festival, launching on 22 April, includes

The Hellow Crown: The Wars

The Hollow Crown: The Wars

of the Roses – an adaptation of Henry VI, Parts 1–3 and Richard III – on BBC Two

"He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom"

Thomas More and Shakespeare both told us that Edward IV was a womaniser - but was it true?

It is not possible to identify all Edward IV's sexual conquests. He had three known mistresses and at least three, possibly five, illegitimate children. His most famous mistress was Elizabeth Lambert, later known as Mistress Shore. Thomas More later joked about three harlots, "the merriest, the wiliest and the holiest". Shore was the merriest; he did not name the other two, who were more high-born. More condoned Edward's "fleshy wantonness", claiming that he took his pleasure without violence and that his subjects accepted it was natural for a vigorous young man to behave as he did.

Some historians have questioned whether Edward was really so promiscuous. But a contemporary noted current gossip that the king was licentious in the extreme, pursuing indiscriminately the married and unmarried, noble and lowly. He added that Edward was "most abusive" to women after he had seduced them immediately casting them aside

them, immediately casting them aside.

Nevertheless, this contemporary was told that Edward took none by force. In contrast, the recitation of Richard III's title to the throne stated: "For every good maiden and woman in England stood in dread to be ravished and defouled."

Though Richard carefully did not name his brother, it must have been the dead king he had in mind.

Now Richard may well have wished to slander Edward, but he was in a position to know, and to exploit for his own ends, what had gone on. We may then question whether Edward IV was the harmless philanderer More took him to be.

Elizabeth 'Jane' Shore, Edward's most famous mistress and the "merriest harlot" in his realm, shown in a 19th-century rainting



BULLETS AND BALL

In the 100 years since the Easter Rising, Anglo-Irish relations have oscillated between harmony and hope and murderous violence. **Diarmaid Ferriter** identifies five moments that have defined the era

Accompanies the BBC Radio 4 series *The Anglo-Irish Century*



In March 1916, British general John Maxwell was superseded as general officer commanding in Egypt and recalled home to England, where he sought further employment. The following month, on 24 April – Easter Monday – a rebellion by 1,600 republicans in Dublin provided Maxwell with his new job. A few days after the Easter Rising, he became military governor in Ireland, equipped by martial law with sweeping powers.

Maxwell's task was to crush the rebellion and restore order. In doing that, he was instrumental in implementing a British policy that would have profound consequences for Anglo-Irish relations. By imposing draconian measures, including 15 executions, Maxwell declared that in Ireland "there will be no treason whispered for 100 years".

In truth, the British response accelerated a shift in Irish nationalist feeling away from the constitutional home-rule movement and towards Sinn Féin's militant separatism. Sinn Féin was quick to capitalise on this anti-British sentiment, decisively winning the most Irish seats in the general election of December 1918 and declaring Ireland an independent republic.

On the very day that the republican parliament first met, Irish nationalists gunned down Royal Irish Constabulary constables. In doing so, they fired the first shots of the Irish War of Independence, a two-year guerrilla conflict fought between the IRA and the British Army.

This led to the first of my five landmarks in Anglo-Irish relations over the course of the last 100 years...



THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY, 1921

Ireland spirals from one war to the next

Two years and five months had passed and more than 2,000 people had lost their lives before, in July 1921, the British government and Irish nationalists agreed to bring the Irish War of Independence to an end with a truce. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in London on 6 December punctuated an extraordinary five months characterised by hope, impatience, apprehension and vagueness concerning objectives.

At no stage was the recognition of an Irish republic – Sinn Féin's stated aim – a serious possibility. Instead, British prime minister David Lloyd George offered Ireland dominion status: it would stay within the empire, and members of an Irish parliament would swear an oath of allegiance to the crown.

Controversially, the Sinn Féin leader Éamon de Valera stayed away from the negotiations. Fearful that Irish resistance would spread if it was left to fester, the British side, which included Winston Churchill, wanted the matter settled once and for all.

Did the Sinn Féin delegates get what they wanted out of the negotiations? That's been up for debate for almost 100 years. On the one hand, Ireland won dominion status (an Irish Free State); on the other, Britain retained its

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naval bases in Ireland to guarantee security and defence.

The treaty also allowed Ulster unionists one year to opt out of the new Irish state. If the unionists took this option, Ulster would become subject to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, which had created the new state of Northern Ireland.

In a dramatic finale to the negotiations, Lloyd George held up two letters addressed to James Craig, the prime minister of Northern Ireland. One of these indicated that agreement had been reached. The other indicated breakdown - and Lloyd George threatened "war within three days" if the answer was no.

The Irish delegation, including Michael Collins, director of intelligence for the IRA, signed. It was a compromise rejected by de Valera, and

sparked a vicious civil war from . 1922–23 between those who accepted the treaty (including Collins and the Free State army) and those who opposed it (the IRA and de Valera).

The conflict led to 1,500 deaths, the assassination of Collins, and saw many who had fought on the same Irish republican side during the War of Independence now bitterly opposed to one another. In the end, the IRA had neither the resources nor the popular support to defeat the new, bloated Free State army.

The political wing of the IRA, now known as Anti-Treaty Sinn Féin, abstained from the new Irish parliament until 1927, by which time most of its members had joined de Valera's new political party, Fianna Fáil. For decades afterwards the civil war divide shaped Irish politics.

2 LONDON AGREEMENTS, 1938

De Valera leaves Britain to fight on alone

The rise of Fianna Fáil, established by de Valera in 1926, represented a stunning political comeback by the defeated republicans of the civil war, cemented when the party won the general election of 1932.

De Valera was intent on tearing up the Anglo-Irish Treaty. His ultimate aim was to ensure that the Irish Free State could exercise an independent foreign policy, an aim lent added urgency by the end of the 1930s as international conflict seemed ever more likely.

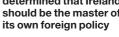
Securing the control of the so called 'Treaty ports' was a central part of de Valera's quest for increased independence. The London agreements of April 1938 - three accords covering trade, finance and defence - witnessed the transfer to the Irish government of harbour defences at Lough Swilly, Berehaven and Cobh that had been retained by the British government under the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

The warm personal relationships de Valera built with senior members of the British establishment, including prime minister Neville Chamberlain and Malcolm MacDonald of the Dominions Office, contributed to his success in Anglo-Irish relations, MacDonald corresponded with de Valera in May 1938: "I cherish especially the memory of our friendly and fruitful talks together. If the personal relations which we established are a symbol of the friendship which will gradually grow between the peoples of the two islands, then indeed is the future bright." De Valera replied: "It has been such a pleasure to have one as understanding as you to deal with in the difficult matters of the relations with the two countries."

Following the ports agreement, de Valera took the independence struggle to its logical next stage by declaring Irish neutrality when the Second World War broke out. The effect of the agreement, de Valera told the Dáil (Irish parliament), was "to hand over to the Irish state complete control of those defences, and it recognises and finally establishes Irish sovereignty over the 26 counties and the territorial seas". Despite agreement with Britain over the ports, de Valera's overwhelming priority was to defend this newly won sover-

eignty - and that took precedence over southern Ireland joining Britain and the Allies during the war.

> Éamon de Valera was determined that Ireland should be the master of



3 DECLARATION OF THE REPUBLIC, 1949

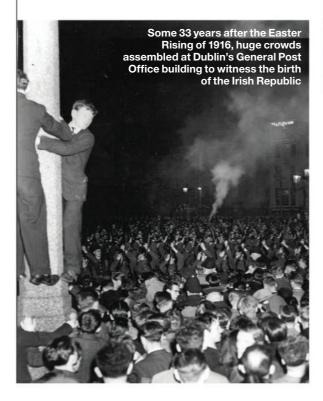
Fine Gael cuts the final ties with London

After 16 years in power, de Valera's Fianna Fáil didn't achieve a majority in the 1948 general election, and was replaced by a coalition government led by Fine Gael's John A Costello. Anglo-Irish relations seemed healthy; a trade agreement was negotiated in June 1948 with the British government, improving access for Irish agricultural exports, and British prime minister Clement Attlee took his summer break in the west of Ireland.

However, while on a visit to Canada in September, Costello announced his government's intention to repeal the External Relations Act, 1936, under which the king signed the credentials of Irish ambassadors. This was southern Ireland's last remaining formal link with the Commonwealth.

The legislation repealing the External Relations Act, which stated that the new description of the state would be the Republic of Ireland, came into force on Easter Monday 1949. Costello told the Dáil that the removal of this last link with the British crown would end a provocation to republicans, and thus take the gun out of Irish politics. Privately, he hoped it would ensure that Fine Gael was no longer branded the 'pro-British party'.

Though Costello hadn't consulted them before repealing the act, the British decided to maintain existing trade, nationality and immigration arrangements, and not to treat the Republic as a foreign country. Yet the British had a surprise of their own. Without forewarning the Irish, they enacted the Ireland Act, 1949, under which they declared that Northern Ireland would not cease to be part of the UK without the approval of its parliament.





4 BLOODY SUNDAY, 1972

Ulster slips into a 30-year nightmare

Tensions in Northern Ireland were already rising when, on Sunday 30 January 1972, British paratroopers killed 13 unarmed men at a protest march against the recent introduction of internment without trial. In the aftermath of 'Bloody Sunday', Irish historian and Labour Party politician Conor Cruise O'Brien observed that: "For a few days people talked and wrote of a national change of mood like that which had set in after the

executions of 1916."

Late on that horrifying day the Taoiseach (Irish prime minister), Jack Lynch, rang Edward Heath who since 1970 had led Britain as Conservative prime minister. In a tense and emotional conversation, Lynch struggled to assess and convey the enormity of the events and the potential fallout. He told Heath: "The situation could escalate beyond what any of us would anticipate at this stage."



In response, Heath was terse and defensive: "The people... who deliberately organised this march in circumstances which we all know in which the IRA were bound to intervene, carry a heavy responsibility for any damage which ensued."

This difficult conversation came at a sensitive time in Anglo-Irish relations, which were already fragile. And it set the tone for the rest of the year – a year during which 470 people died in the euphemistically named 'Troubles' – 323 of them civilians.

Heath and his successors eventually came to recognise the importance of a power-sharing

solution to the Northern Ireland problem, and of the key role that the Republic of Ireland could play in attempts to solve the crisis.

But these advances in Anglo-Irish relations were painstaking and fractured, evolving over a 30-year period punctuated by frequent violence. The IRA's demand for a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, its guerrilla and bombing campaign in Northern Ireland (and mainland Britain), and resistance to those attacks by British army troops and loyalist (unionist) paramilitaries, resulted in 3,500 deaths between 1969 and the mid-1990s.



THE QUEEN VISITS IRELAND, 2011

The old foes find common ground

In April 1998, the Belfast Agreement contained proposals for a Northern Ireland Assembly with a power-sharing executive, new cross-border institutions with the Republic of Ireland and a body linking devolved assemblies across the UK with Westminster and Dublin. The Republic of Ireland also agreed to drop its constitutional claim to the six counties that formed Northern Ireland, which had existed since the introduction and ratification of the Irish constitution in 1937. There were also proposals on the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons, the future of policing in Northern Ireland and the early release of paramilitary prisoners.

April and May 1998 saw declarations of history-making and transformation as the electorate – 94 per cent in the Republic and 71 per cent in Northern Ireland – endorsed the agreement. Former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald suggested that: "We had perhaps just seen the long, drawn-out tragedy of Northern Ireland move, at a single stroke, out of current affairs and into history."

As well as bringing a degree of peace to Northern Ireland, the agreement prompted a thaw in Anglo-Irish relations that continued over the following decade and beyond. This was reflected by the willingness of both the British and Irish to back the Queen's state visit to Ireland in May 2011 – almost exactly 100 years after the last visit by a reigning British monarch to southern Ireland, by Elizabeth II's grandfather, King George V.

In a speech at Dublin Castle – formerly the centre of British power in Ireland – the Irish president Mary McAleese declared: "This visit is a culmination of the success of the peace process." Underlining this senti-

ment, the Queen bowed her head in the Irish Garden of Remembrance honouring the 1916 rebels, and asserted in a carefully crafted speech at Dublin Castle: "With the benefit of historical hindsight we can all see things which we would wish had been done differently or not at all."

Diarmaid Ferriter is professor of modern Irish history at University College Dublin

DISCOVER MORE

RADIO

► The four-part BBC
Radio 4 series The
Anglo-Irish Century, presented
by Diarmaid Ferriter, documenting and assessing 100 years of

by Diarmaid Ferriter, documenting and assessing 100 years of Anglo-Irish relations, begins on 22 April



The battle that won the war

The day of destiny

The 1st German Armoured Cruiser Squadron on the morning of the battle of Jutland. "The spell of Trafalgar has been broken," crowed Kaiser Wilhelm after the battle, but the Germans would never threaten British naval hegemony again

For both sides, this battle was a new experience. The British had been the undisputed masters of the seas since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, more than 100 years earlier. However, the last time the Royal Navy had fought a sea battle against an enemy fleet, it had entered the fray with wooden sailing ships armed with muzzle-loading cannon. The service now went to war in armoured, steel ships, powered by steam engines and armed with breech-loading rifled guns in revolving turrets. Uninterrupted peace in western Europe had arguably led to complacency, failure of imagination and tactical stagnation. Nevertheless, the Royal Navy was still the most powerful navy in the world.

The Kaiserliche Marine, or Imperial German Navy, had existed only since Germany unified from a multitude of kingdoms and principalities into a single, Prussian-dominated state in 1871. The German kaiser, Wilhelm II, was determined to make Germany a world power, and in 1897 he had appointed Rear (later Grand) Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz as secretary of state of the Reichsmarineamt, or Imperial Navy Office. Tirpitz was a compelling advocate of the need for a larger navy, and within a year he had persuaded the German parliament to pass the first of a series of naval bills calling for the construction of 19 battleships and 50 cruisers. The British responded in kind, and an expensive arms race between the two powers followed, vociferously supported on both sides of the North Sea by popular nationalist lobbying.

In 1906, the British reset the arms race. Under the dynamic leadership of the visionary First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir John 'Jackie' Fisher, they emphatically replied to the German challenge by launching the revolutionary battleship HMS *Dreadnought* – faster, and with better armour and more heavy guns than anything else afloat. At the same time Fisher developed a new type of ship, the battlecruiser, with heavy guns but light armour to allow exceptional speed, intended to outgun enemy cruisers but able to use its



outbuild Germany, and by

1914 it was clear the gamble had paid off"

speed to escape enemy battleships. At a stroke, the existing British and German battle fleets were rendered out of date. It was a gamble, but it stemmed from absolute confidence that Britain could outbuild Germany, which was trying to maintain the largest army in Europe at the same time.

British firepower

A new and even costlier arms race followed, with both sides building 'dreadnoughts', as the new battleships became known. But the British had judged correctly. Between 1905 and 1914 Germany's defence budget increased by a staggering 142 per cent, but when Britain declared war on 4 August 1914, the British had 28 dreadnoughts and nine battlecruisers. The Germans had only 16 dreadnoughts and five battlecruisers. The battle of Jutland was essentially decided two years before the first shots had been fired.

The British war plan was to concentrate the Royal Navy's most modern warships into a Grand Fleet at Scapa Flow, in the Orkney Islands, from where it could maintain a close watch on the North Sea and blockade German trade. The blockade stopped vital imports of food and raw materials, including nitrates from South America, essential for producing

both fertilisers and explosives. The German *Hochseeflotte* (High Seas Fleet) was essentially under house arrest, able to patrol the North Sea but unable to make a meaningful impact on the war.

The status quo favoured Britain, which really did not have to take any action at all to be assured of gradually starving its enemy, leaving the French, its continental ally, to fight the land campaign against a progressively more demoralised and weaker foe. The onus was on the Germans to defeat the far bigger Grand Fleet, unlock the door to global trade, and change the outcome of the war.

The first two years of the war at sea were characterised by confrontations that were little more than skirmishes, in the North Sea and further afield, with the Royal Navy rounding up and destroying Germany's small overseas naval forces. The German fleet was constrained by the kaiser's unwillingness to risk his expensive battleships.

But in January 1916, a new, more energetic officer took command of the High Seas Fleet: Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, who persuaded the kaiser to approve a more aggressive strategy. Scheer proposed a plan to give the Germans their holy grail: *Kräfteausgleich* – equalisation of forces, the numerical parity

GETTY IMAG

that was an essential prerequisite for victory. Vice Admiral Franz von Hipper's battlecruisers were to threaten British trade convoys to neutral Norway, hoping to provoke a response. Scheer assumed that the British would respond in force, but he also assumed that the British battlecruiser force, under Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, would reach his chosen battlefield before the Grand Fleet because the former was based in Rosyth on the Firth of Forth - closer than the Orkney Islands. Scheer was gambling that he could destroy Beatty's squadrons, which had been reinforced by the Royal Navy's four newest and most powerful dreadnoughts, giving him Kräfteausgleich by the time the Grand Fleet, under Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, arrived.

Famous outburst

Scheer's plan failed. Beatty and Hipper met at the Jutland Bank off the Danish coast late in the afternoon of 31 May, and Hipper dutifully turned to lead his adversary south on to Scheer's guns. Early signs were good for the Germans: errors in signalling and gunnery by the British gave their foe a tactical advantage. Two British battlecruisers, HMS Queen Mary and HMS Indefatigable, blew up and sank, thanks in part to poor ammunition-handling procedures. Queen Mary's dramatic loss provoked Beatty's famous outburst: "There seems to be something wrong with our bloody ships today!" But as soon as Beatty sighted the main German fleet he reversed

JUTLAND: THE COMBATANTS **AND CASUALTIES**

31 May-1 June 1916

LOCATION

The Jutland Bank, North Sea

COMMANDERS



Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, **British Grand Fleet**



Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, battlecruiser force



Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, German High Seas Fleet



Battle Area

Vice Admiral Franz von Hipper, German **Scouting Group**

FLEET STRENGTHS

Royal Navy:

60,000 men

9 battlecruisers

28 dreadnought battleships

34 cruisers

78 destrovers

1 seaplane carrier

1 minelayer

Imperial German Navy High Seas Fleet:

45,000 men

5 battlecruisers

16 dreadnought battleships

6 older ('pre-dreadnought') battleships

11 cruisers

61 torpedo boats

SHIPS SUNK

British:

3 battlecruisers, 3 cruisers,

8 destroyers

Totalling 115,025 tonnes

1 battlecruiser, 1 pre-dreadnought,

4 cruisers, 5 torpedo boats

Totalling 61,180 tonnes

HEAVY CALIBRE SHELLS FIRED

British: 4,598

German: 3,597

CAPITAL SHIPS DAMAGED

British:

4 battleships,

3 battlecruisers (dry-docked)

German:

German:

2,551 dead,

5 battleships,

4 battlecruisers

CASUALTIES

British:

6,094 dead (more than half aboard the three sunken battlecruisers),

510 wounded, 177 prisoners of war

VICTORIA CROSS AWARDS Commander Edward BS Bingham, HMS Nestor Boy Seaman John Travers Cornwell, pictured right, HMS Chester (posthumous, at 16, the third youngest

VC recipient in history), Major Francis JW Harvey, HMS Lion (posthumous) Commander Loftus W Jones, HMS Shark (posthumous)



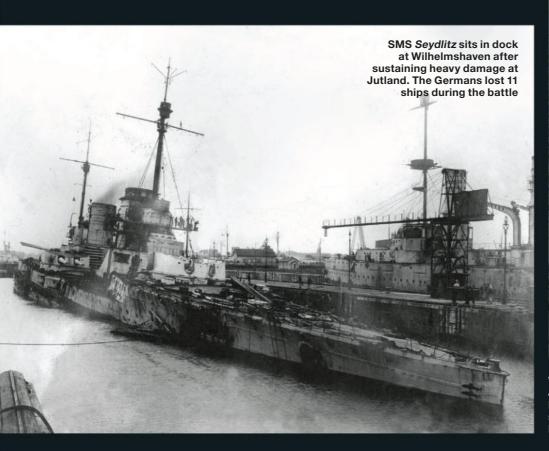
The battle of Jutland

H.M.S. DREADNOUGHT.
Battleship, 17,900 tons.

A postcard showing HMS *Dreadnought*. When she was launched in 1906, *Dreadnought* was faster and better armed than any other ship on the world's oceans, and she instantly rendered the German – and British – battle fleets out of date

"Will meat and butter be cheaper in Berlin?' wrote *The Globe* after the battle. 'Not by a pfennig"

The Queen Mary explodes and breaks in two at Jutland, killing almost 1,300 men. Her sinking led Vice Admiral Beatty to exclaim: "There seems to be something wrong with our bloody ships today!"





Winston Churchill described Admiral Jellicoe, pictured aboard the dreadnought HMS *Iron Duke*, "as the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon". Luckily for Britain, he didn't



"Jutland wasn't Trafalgar.

But the British

didn't need Trafalgar"

1916 Britain did not need Trafalgar. Jellicoe, described by Churchill as "the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon", knew exactly what was required - and delivered it. Nelson may well have won a more dramatic and convincing victory, but Jellicoe still delivered a victory. More perceptive observers, such as the London newspaper The Globe, agreed: "Will the shouting flag-waving [German] people get any more of the copper, rubber and cotton their government so sorely needs? Not by a pound. Will meat and butter be cheaper in Berlin? Not by a pfennig. There is one test, and only one, of victory. Who held the field of battle at the end of the fight?"

Flight from the field

Across the North Sea, informed Germans were in no doubt about the implications of the flight of the High Seas Fleet from the 'field'. Georg von Hase fought at Jutland aboard the battlecruiser *Derfflinger* and wrote afterwards that: "The English fleet... by its mere continued existence had so far... fulfilled its allotted task." Admiral Scheer agreed, writing in a confidential report submitted on 4 July that: "The disadvantages of our military-geographical position, and the enemy's great material superiority, cannot be compensated [for] by our fleet to the extent where we shall be able to overcome the blockade."

The Grand Fleet was a knife permanently held to Germany's throat, pushing steadily against the national jugular, and nothing that happened at Jutland changed this situation. The Grand Fleet was ready for action again the next day, as strong as before, and it soon increased in size thanks to a steady flow of new and refitted ships joining the fleet. The Imperial German Navy needed to take the initiative again, but many German ships took months to repair and, even when the High Sea Fleet was again battle-ready, the Germans were so badly shaken by the weight of the British response that they never staged another serious challenge. German naval building, unable to compete before the war, could not hope to do so now.

The British blockade continued unabated, eventually leading to a 50 per cent reduction in German food supplies and terrible privations for German civilians. Some areas came close to famine thanks to an unfair and inefficient rationing system: a British intelligence report on the Strasbourg region in July 1917 grimly noted that "their children are dying like flies and coal production is 30

course, pulling the Germans back to Jellicoe's far more powerful Grand Fleet. When Scheer saw his enemy at sea at full strength, he realised that his only chance for victory had passed. Though half an hour of bitter fighting saw his ships sink another British battlecruiser, *Invincible*, and three large but obsolete armoured cruisers, he was forced to withdraw into the mist and head for home. The British were poorly prepared for night fighting and, though the battle continued with a series of vicious skirmishes in the dark, the High Seas Fleet returned safely.

The Germans got home first, and newspapers announced a German victory. On 5 June, Kaiser Wilhelm travelled to Wilhelmshaven to proclaim that: "The English were beaten. The spell of Trafalgar has been broken. You have started a new chapter in world history." The Grand Fleet made for home, burying its dead on the way. The British public had been conditioned for a century to expect another Trafalgar, ending with their enemy's fleet scattered, sunk or captured, and they were bewildered and bitterly disappointed when that didn't happen.

The Admiralty exacerbated the situation, issuing a communiqué that was achingly honest about British losses and suspiciously vague about German ones. It came out on 3 June, after rumours had already begun to spread like wildfire from the dockyards, and after publication of the German account had

– unbelievably – been permitted. The communiqué began: "On the afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, a naval engagement took place off the coast of Jutland. The British ships on which the brunt of the fighting fell were the Battle Cruiser Fleet and some cruisers and light cruisers, supported by four fast battleships. Among these the losses were heavy."

British newspapers were quick to declare the battle a disaster, and the Grand Fleet's men met a very different welcome to that received by their German counterparts. Midshipman Henry Fancourt of the battlecruiser *Princess Royal* remembered going ashore in Rosyth and meeting people who asked: "What's the navy been doing?"

It's undoubtedly true that the British lost more ships, and many more men: 6,094 dead, compared with 2,551 Germans. But to declare the battle a defeat based on a simple comparison of losses was to oversimplify what was a compli-

cated, subtle strategic situation. Jutland was a clumsily fought and costly battle, followed by a public-relations disaster, but it was a clear win for Britain. Jellicoe was not Nelson, and Jutland was certainly not Trafalgar. But in

GREAT NAVAL BATTLE HUGE BRITISH AND GERMAN LOSSES

The Morning News relays a report on the battle on 3 June 1916. Press coverage contributed to the gloom that descended upon Britain in the wake of Jutland The blockade continued its remorseless erosion of the German will to fight. Many Germans became hungry, war-weary and open to communist anti-war propaganda, sparking a revolution that began on 29–30 October 1918. The uprising began, appropriately enough, among the demoralised sailors of the High Seas Fleet, who mutinied when ordered to carry out one final operation. On 21 November 1918 they steamed their ships to surrender and internment at Scapa Flow, and on 21 June 1919 the ships were scuttled in an act of defiance against their British jailers. It was the end of the kaiser's dream of global power.

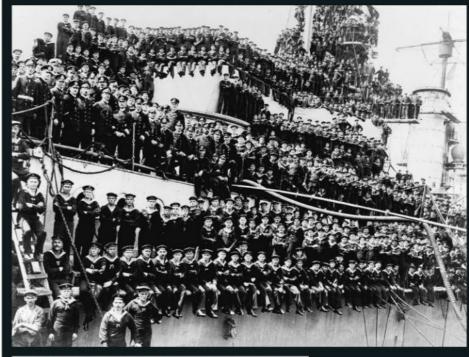
Flight from the field

glory-seeking.

The long-term, strategic consequences of Jutland were complex and hard to explain to a British public steeped in Trafalgar lore. The debate, focused on the respective roles played by Jellicoe and Beatty, raged well into the interwar period, and still raises the hackles of historians today. It hinged on the question of whether overwhelming victory had eluded the British as a result of Jellicoe's alleged caution, inflexibility and lack of initiative, or Beatty's alleged impetuosity, vanity and

Both admirals, to their credit, stayed largely aloof (at least publicly) from this poisonous internecine conflict, which was fought mainly through the sometimes vitriolic outpourings of their friends and supporters. Beatty's wife was more outspoken, writing to a family friend on 10 July 1916 that: "There seems to be very little to say except to curse Jellicoe for not going at them as the B.Cs [battle cruisers] did... I hear he was frightened to death in case he might lose a B. ship. I think the real truth he was in a deadly funk."

There is no question that, for the Royal Navy in general and the Grand Fleet in particular, what became known as 'The Jutland Controversy' soon overwhelmed objective consideration of the battle, with both sides broadly accepting the myth of defeat to reinforce the case against their rivals. Perhaps inevitably, defeat slowly became the





ABOVE: The crew of the German battleship SMS König Albert, pictured following Jutland LEFT: The König Albert (second from front) in Scapa Flow following the German High Seas Fleet's surrender in November 1918

"A British intelligence report on the

Strasbourg region grimly noted

that 'their children are dying like flies'"

popular perception and, as decades passed, the battle was largely discarded as one of the First World War's key symbols, engulfed by a torrent of literature, poetry and art, drawing almost exclusively from the tragedy, sacrifice and ultimate triumph of the trench war on the western front.

Rejection of the battle in Britain was perhaps encouraged by its public celebration in Germany, where the 'victory' of the Skagerrak was used to offset the 'shame' of the 1918 naval mutiny and as the foundation of a new naval tradition. Skagerraktag (Skagerrak Day) was observed in Germany until the end of the Second World War and, when German re-armament gathered pace in the 1930s, the 'pocket battleship' Admiral Scheer, cruiser Admiral Hipper and a number of destroyers were named after their Jutland heroes. In Britain, Jutland gradually began to be dismissed as a mere appendage to the arms race story: an inconsequential stalemate that failed to justify Britain's huge investment in dreadnoughts before 1914.

In this centenary year of the battle, a reappraisal of Jutland is long overdue. It is

surely high time that this extraordinary encounter, arguably the greatest naval battle in history and simultaneously a triumph and a tragedy on an epic scale, was placed back at the heart of the lexicon of the First World War. It is, quite simply, the forgotten battle – the clash by which the Royal Navy won the war.

Nick Hewitt is head of heritage development at the National Museum of the Royal Navy. His books include *The Kaiser's Pirates* (Pen and Sword, 2014)

DISCOVER MORE

TV AND RADIO

Nick Hewitt, Dan Snow and Shini
Somara will be presenting The
Navy's Bloodiest Day, a documentary on
the battle of Jutland, later this spring

► The Radio 4 documentary **Jutland: The Battle That Won the War**is due to air on 27 May

EXHIBITION

➤ 36 Hours: Jutland 1916, The Battle That Won the War opens at the National Museum of the Royal Navy this month. nmrn.org.uk

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R FIRST WORLD WAR

Sentenced to death

In part 24 of his personal testimony series, **Peter Hart** takes us to May 1916, when men's lives were cut short by firing squads and ever-more destructive shells. Peter will be tracing the experiences of 20 people who lived through the First World War - via interviews, letters and diary entries - as its centenary progresses

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JAMES ALBON



William Holbrook

Born in 1892 and brought up in a poor family in Hornchurch, William was recruited underage into the Royal Fusiliers in 1908. He had begun serving with the 4th Royal Fusiliers on the western front in 1914.

Huge shells regularly crashed down on the trenches, creating dreadful scenes of raw human butchery. William Holbrook never forgot one particular close escape in the Sanctuary Wood sector.

There were six in my bay. It was my turn on duty for a couple of hours. They said: "Let's go in the next bay, they've got some cards in there – we can have a game of cards." Away these other five went. That made about 12 in their bay and only me in this one.

All of a sudden there's such an explosion and it blew me, the sandbags, the barbed wire all in a heap. While I was trying to get myself together, a young officer came along. He says: "You all right?" I said: "Yes." He said: "You should see your next bay, all dead, all of them!" He said: "Can you help me dig them out?" I was half dazed myself!

We got down to it and did the best we could. Pulling bits and pieces out. We got hold of a fellow's neck bone – his head was off – to pull him out of the loose earth. All it was was his two legs and his backbone. The officer got his water bottle out, got some rum and we had a good sip. He said: "How long you been out?" I said: "Two years!" He said: "God almighty! Do you know how long I've been here? 10 days and I'm bloody well sick of it!"

It was understandable that cases of 'shell shock' began to multiply given the horrors experienced daily on the

We had a nasty case of desertion. His name was Roberts, I knew him very well. He never hesitated to go on any raid. But if there was any French girl behind the lines, he'd get with her - go away and desert with her. Leave the front line and be away for months.

The time before last he got caught, he was put in a tent and we had to guard him. We let him

got caught again, in the south of France. He was tried, court martialled and sentenced to

death. The troops were upset about it, but a lot of the troops that knew him had gone, died,

wounded and away. It was a place called Renninghelst. We were out at rest and we were in some old barns. We were called out one morning, early, no reason and when we got there in this meadow behind the village, there was Roberts, sitting on a chair. General Potter read out a statement: "The man you are going to watch has been sentenced to death. He is not a coward, he is a very brave man, but it is beyond my powers. I can't do anything about it – the sentence has to be carried out."

They placed an envelope over Roberts' heart there. They put a bandage round his head. He said: "Take that off. I don't want a bandage round my head. I'd sooner die with a British bullet than a German!" They pulled out six men and he was executed.

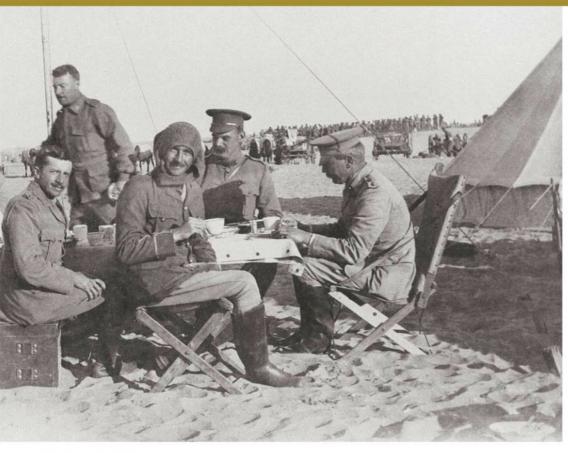
western front. The army authorities lacked a consistent response to cases of desertion, cowardice or absence without leave. Some men were charged on the first offence, but others were given several chances. One example of the latter was **Private William Roberts who** had become a close friend of William Holbrook.

out - everybody liked him! It was some months before he

"The man you are going to watch has been sentenced to death. He is not a coward, he is a very brave man"

Officers enjoy some downtime at an Australian training camp in the Egyptian desert, c1916

PART 24 MAY 1916





Thomas Louch

Thomas Louch was born the son of an archdeacon in Geraldton, Australia in 1894. He served with the 11th (Western Australia) Battalion and, in 1915, attained the rank of corporal. In August that year, he was wounded fighting at Gallipoli.

Thomas Louch had been invalided back to Australia in November 1915. As he began to recover from wounds received at Gallipoli, he was sent out to Egypt. Here he was put into the 51st Australian Battalion, one of the battalions being forged to create new Australian divisions ready for service on the western front.

Men in the ranks are friendly and uncritical, and the old hands quickly assimilated the reinforcements without any ill-feeling on either side. The officers were a different proposition. Some were newly promoted men – battle-wise but without experience as officers. Others were reinforcements who

had been trained at schools but had not yet been under fire. Lastly there were newly promoted men from Light Horse regiments, who had done well at Anzac Cove but knew nothing of infantry work.

The immediate task of the commanding officer was to mould these diverse elements into a homogeneous unit. No better man could have been chosen for the task. He was my old friend Lieutenant Colonel AM Ross, a regular – and what he doesn't know about soldiering is not worth knowing. I was delighted to be in his battalion, but the long tour of duty at Anzac Cove had taken its toll. He looked tired, and seemed to be living on his nerves.

The 51st was in camp close to the Suez Canal. For Louch, it was an idyllic period.

Each day we paraded for drill and rifle exercises conducted by the CO. Woe betide any platoon that made a mess of 'Piling Arms' [propping rifles together, muzzles facing upwards]. I prayed that my platoon would not disgrace itself, and I am glad to say that it never did.

We lay off in the heat of the day. Bathing in the canal is great fun. A small tug goes past and you hang on to a rope and get dragged through the water for about half a mile. Or a mail boat comes past and everyone swims out to scramble for cigarettes or oranges which the passengers throw overboard. Very happy here – like a continuous picnic.

But the idyll was coming to an end. Troops were needed for the great effort on the Somme – and, in June, the Australians set sail for France.



Kate Luard

Born in 1872, Luard trained as a nurse in London. She volunteered to join the Queen Alexandria's Imperial Military Nursing Service in August 1914 and was despatched to France.

Kate Luard had been moved with No 6 Casualty Clearing Station to the village of Barlin behind the Arras front.

■ We had a rush of in-extremis cases in this morning. There seems to be an unusual number of charming boys, who have joined in tremendous keenness and are now filling the cemetery. One, called Reggie, is slowly losing the fight with a lung wound. And another called Jack is paralysed from a fractured spine. He says: "What is it, Sister? I can't move my legs - will it be all right?" Jack is dying tonight. He goes on smiling and making polite little jokes, till we could all cry.

Reggie is worse tonight. He holds out his small hand and says: "Will you come and sit by me for a little while and hold my hand? It encourages me."

Peter Hart is the oral historian at the Imperial War Museum

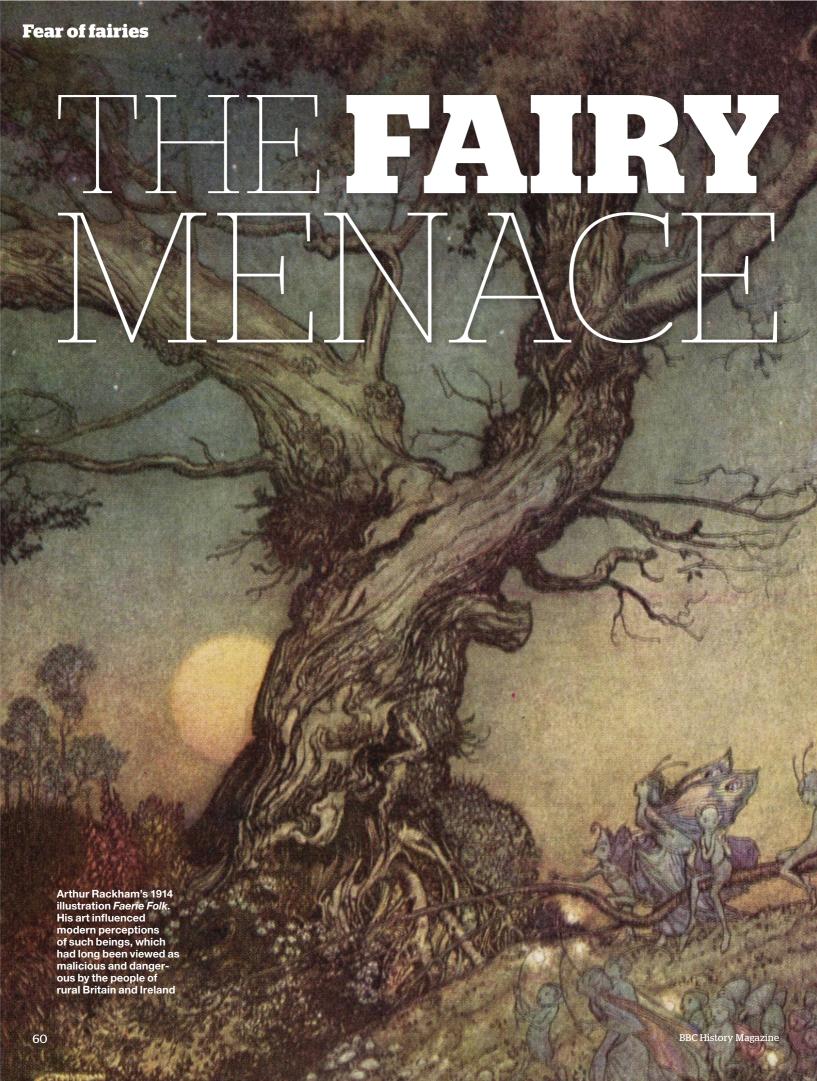
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Modern children's tales invariably depict fairies as gossamerwinged pixies sprinkling happy magic. Yet, as Richard Sugg reveals, until recently they were seen as maleficent sprites blamed for animal afflictions, child possession and abductions

n summer 1909 Annie McIntire, an old woman from Donegal, was asked for her birth date by a committee assessing her request for an old-age pension. Her reply, both enlightening and surprising, was: "that she did not know the number of her years, but remembered being stolen by the 'wee people' (fairies) on Halloween Night, 1839. Asked if she was certain of this, she replied, 'Yes, by good luck my brother happened to be coming home from Carndonagh that night, and heard the fairies singing and saw them dancing round me in the wood at Carrowkeel. He had a book with him, and he threw it in among them. They then ran away.' The applicant added that the people celebrated the event by great feasting and drinking. The committee decided to grant her a pension." Nowadays, if children hear about fairies,

Girls, in particular, might be regaled with stories such as the hugely successful Rainbow Magic books; more than 150 titles have been published since 2003, including Trixie the Halloween Fairy. Yet for much of history, any child who told their parents they had been with the Halloween fairy was likely to be spanked, or locked up for their own safety.

it is likely to be in the context of 'wee people'

bringing them something if they are good, or

in exchange for a milk tooth. Fairies are, on

If you'd grown up in the countryside even a century ago, your impressionable young mind would have been filled with tales of fairy danger. To keep you from venturing out at night, your parents could tell you that the fairies might carry you off. If your family tended livestock, any sickness in your cattle might be explained by their being 'fairystruck' or 'elf-shot'. This last was believed quite literally by many: fairies were held to shoot little arrows at animals (and sometimes humans), and any Neolithic flint arrowheads unearthed were weapons used by fairies.

Why did people believe in fairies? It was partly because, in popular culture, magic was the norm, and magical scapegoats were also more or less universal – a problem or ailment might be the work of a fairy, witch or vampire. But fairies were bound up with nature, the countryside and fertility in more positive ways, too. Hence, even into the 20th century, people who were persistently short of food would habitually pour a helping of milk for fairies whenever they milked their cows, or leave food out for them at night.

Lost souls or fallen angels?

The fairies had well-defined origins, though specified beliefs varied. Some held fairies to be the souls of the dead. Others conferred on them a more ancient pedigree, believing them to be descended from those fallen angels who had neither made it into hell nor returned to heaven, having run into holes in the earth when God closed up heaven and hell. Such beliefs persisted in Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man into the last century.

Accordingly, fairies occupied a curiously intermediate status – between good and evil, between this world and the next. This is true of the earliest recorded fairy types in both western and Judaeo-Christian traditions. Isaiah 13 describes satyrs disporting themselves in the ruins of Babylon, while Homer's Odyssey opens with Odysseus as a prisoner of the "bewitching nymph" Calypso. Given their status as scapegoats, it is possible that fairies are as old as fear itself.

With the strength of ancient superstitions and the need for people to explain otherwise inexplicable experiences, it's little wonder that rural folk held such beliefs. More surprising is that fear of fairies persisted until very recently.

Records show that they were certainly very concrete signs of them all around - signs typically imbued with danger. Step into a fairy ring (to a modern botanist, merely an unusual circular fungal formation) and you would have a particularly high chance of being taken by the fairies. Speaking in the early 20th century, a Scottish Protestant minister recalled how, when he was a child, an old woman had yanked him out of a fairy ring for this very reason. Fairy trees, mounds and paths could be seen all over rural Ireland, Scotland and Cornwall, and interfering with them could spark serious repercussions.

Like most magical beings and elements in popular culture, fairies were powerful, if not actually dangerous. Though believed to be small, they were rarely described as tiny, often ranging up to three or four feet in height.

Even those who helped you – as in the many tales of fairies threshing, ploughing, rounding up sheep or doing housework at night - had to be treated with great respect. Fairies were unpredictable at best, and malicious at worst. They were probably not as terrifying as the



The average peasant saw concrete signs of fairies all around - signs typically imbued with danger"

vampires or witches they resembled (fairies, like these entities, could change shape, taking the form of flies, moths or weasels), but in Lamplugh, Cumbria, four people were said to have been scared to death by fairies between 1656 and 1663.

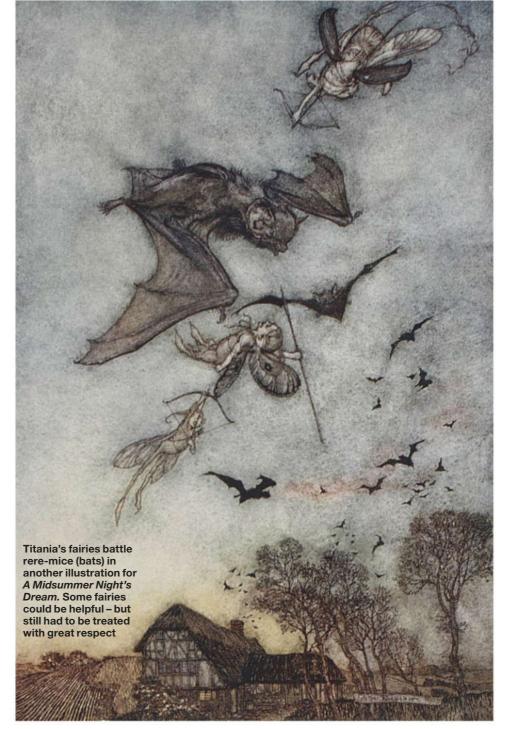
When ordinary people heard of Annie McIntire's lucky childhood escape, many would have nodded their heads sagely, recalling one or more of the fairy abduction stories common in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in which children were stolen and replaced by supernatural substitutes. The danger in cases of 'fairy changelings' came not from what the fairies supposedly did to a child, but rather the actions of parents trying to make the fairies reverse the switch.

Children and changelings

In 1850 the parents of Mary Anne Kelly in Roscrea, Tipperary consulted a 'fairy doctress', Bridget Peters, about their six-year-old daughter who had been frail since birth, suffering from partial paralysis and 'softening of the brain'. By September the child was dead, having been repeatedly dosed with poisonous foxglove essence and left exposed and naked outside. As was often the case, these measures were undertaken with the full agreement of the parents, who believed Peters' claim that the child in their care was a changeling, and that these methods would make the fairies return the real Mary Anne. Author Carole Silver reports a case in Wales of a child who was killed in 1857, after being bathed in foxglove essence for the same reason.

In 1884 three-year-old Philip Dillon, also paralysed, was diagnosed as a changeling by neighbours Anastatia Rourke and Ellen Cushion in Clonmel in County Tipperary. In the mother's absence they placed the child on a hot shovel – badly burning him in the process – as a tactic to force the fairies to return the 'real' Philip. Some time before 1865 the writer Robert Hunt heard of an Irish mother killing her child in New York with the same treatment.

The interdisciplinary scholar Susan Schoon Eberly has shown that a large number of supposed changelings were children suffering from inherited genetic disorders. Some of these conditions might only become apparent some time after birth, thus reinforcing the belief that the 'real' child had been taken, leaving a sickly infant in its place. For example, phenylketonuria results in a voraciously hungry child who screams constantly when not being fed, while Williams Syndrome produces unusual 'elfin' facial features – blonde hair, blue eyes, a turned-up nose and pointed chin. Such conditions are much more common in male children in England and Ireland, so we can understand why popular wisdom often held



that fairies took only boys, and why this belief was more common in those countries.

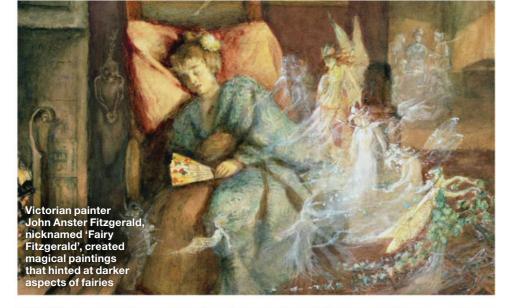
If local fairy beliefs were strong enough, almost any abnormality could be blamed on the sufferer being changed or 'fairy struck'. In Ballinakil, Ireland in 1840, John Mahony, a boy of around seven, was judged to be a changeling by his father, James – partly because of a two-year spinal affliction, but also because he was "a very intellectual child". John died – possibly from shock – after being threatened with a heated shovel and ducked under the pump. Before he expired, he actually admitted to his parents that he was a fairy, and that the fairies would reverse the switch if he, the fairy boy, could have one more night's lodging.

Probably the most notorious Irish case took place in Ballyvadlea, near Clonmel. In March

1895 Michael Cleary became convinced that his wife, 26-year-old Bridget, was a fairy changeling, reportedly on account of nervous problems she was suffering at this time. So convinced was Cleary that he declared the 'changeling' to be two inches taller than his real wife.

After a number of violent tests, Michael's accomplices – including relatives and 'fairy doctor' Denis Ganey – decided that Bridget was indeed the real Bridget. However, Michael was unconvinced, and threw lamp oil over his wife, burning her to death. For three nights afterwards he went with a knife to 'the fairy hill' in hope of having Bridget returned to him. At the subsequent trial, his initial sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment on the grounds that Cleary genuinely believed Bridget to have been a changeling.

SKIDGEMA





"He believed that his wife **was a fairy changeling** who was two inches taller than his real wife"

While such cases made for sensational news copy, there were many other kinds of fairy danger that more easily slipped under the public radar. In 1910 an old man called John Boylin recounted the story of an Irish girl, Rose Carroll, who was believed to be "possessed by a fairy-spirit". Boylin added that "the Carrolls' house was built at the end of a fairy fort, and part of it was scooped out of this fort". This implies that Rose's possession was in part caused by the site of her house – either because it angered territorial fairies or simply because of their proximity.

Similarly, when an Irish house "happens to have been built in a fairy track, the doors on the front and back... cannot be kept closed at night, for the fairies must march through" – so reported a priest in the early 20th

century. Though fairy forts (mounds) or trees were usually identifiable, fairy paths were a little more tricky.

In 19th-century Ireland it was common to put "plenty of food in a newly constructed dwelling the night before the time fixed for moving into it; and if the food is not consumed, and the crumbs swept up by the door in the morning, the house cannot safely be occupied". The Dublin university graduate who explained this in 1910 added that: "I know of two houses now that have never been occupied, because the fairies did not show their willingness and goodwill by taking food so offered to them."

Some way into the 20th century, a man called Paddy Baine suffered what seem to have been poltergeist disturbances in his newly built

house in County Sligo after failing to take such precautions. When consulted, local wise woman Mairead ni Heine explained that one corner of the house was blocking a fairy path. Paddy had the corner sliced off by a local stonemason, after which the problems ceased.

By this time, though, fairies had already begun to be prettified and miniaturised for some sections of society. The paintings of Joseph Noel Paton (1821–1901) and John Anster Fitzgerald (c1819–1906) and the writing of Irish poet William Allingham (1824–89) offer a whimsical escapism into a natural world beyond the ravages of industrialism, where fairies nestle in an intricate harmony with birds and flowers.

The now seemingly axiomatic link between fairies and childhood innocence would be immortalised in JM Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1904) and the Cottingley fairy photographs created from 1917. In this latter case, the fake fairies created and photographed by young cousins Elsie Wright and Frances Griffiths were particularly feminine and graceful. *Sherlock Holmes* author Arthur Conan Doyle believed that the girls' ability to attract or see fairies was likely to pass, should one of them grow up and fall in love.

Nowadays, the triumph of the miniature female fairy seems almost total. But it was a long way into the 20th century before the dangers of the fairy-haunted landscape were fully banished. Folk in 1930s County Antrim still recalled the man whose head had been turned backwards after he cut down a fairy tree. And in County Mayo in 1958, a crew of 25 labourers refused to bulldoze a fairy mound that stood in the path of a new fence.

As recently as 1999 Irish folklorist Eddie Linehan objected to the construction of a motorway in County Clare. He claimed it would destroy a fairy tree that marked a fairy path, citing a farmer who claimed to have seen white fairy blood on this elfin thoroughfare. Although the field itself was largely destroyed, the tree was preserved, protected by fences. And just last year in Iceland, an unusual rock formation in Álftanes, near Reykjavík, was moved to make way for a new road – but only after protests had been presented to the Icelandic supreme court, and only on condition that this 'elf church' would be preserved at the roadside.

Richard Sugg is a lecturer in renaissance studies at Durham University, and author of *A Century of Supernatural Stories* (Createspace, 2015)

DISCOVER MORE

воок

➤ Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness by Carole Silver (Oxford University Press, 1999)

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Experts discuss and review the latest history releases

BOOKS





INTERVIEW / KATE SUMMERSCALE

"This is a hopeful story – albeit about as terrible a crime as we can imagine"

Kate Summerscale talks to **Matt Elton** about her new book exploring a case that shocked Victorian England – a young boy's murder of his mother – and its echoes in 21st-century fears

FRAN MONK

PROFILE KATESUMMERSCALE

A graduate of the University of Oxford and Stanford University, Summerscale worked as a journalist, including as literary editor for the *Daily Telegraph*. Her previous books include *The Suspicions of Mr Whicher, or The Murder at Road Hill House* (Bloomsbury, 2008), which won the Samuel Johnson Prize for non-fiction and was later adapted for television. She lives in London with her family.

What is the case that your new book follows, and why did it interest you?

The book follows the story of two boys: Robert Coombes, who was 13 years old, and his 12-year-old brother, Nathaniel. In the summer of 1895 they were seen wandering around east London, and said that their mother had gone to visit family in Liverpool; their father was away at sea. After 10 days an unpleasant smell began to emanate from the house, and neighbours became uneasy.

The boys' aunt burst in and discovered their mother's body decomposing upstairs. She called the police; Robert confessed to stabbing his mother, and the boys were arrested. There were hearings and inquests through the summer, and a trial at the Old Bailey in September. Nattie was discharged before the trial, and gave evidence that Robert had killed their mother, which I'm sure was a painful experience for them both.

It seemed a strange and terrible thing that one or both boys had done, so I wanted to find out if Robert *was* guilty – and, if so, why.

How do you explain the boys' actions in the 10 days between the murder and the body being discovered?

After killing their mother, the boys were the only people in the world who knew of the act - and they did both know what had happened even if, as it turns out, Robert was the one to actually do it. It was as if they felt that their actions were imagined rather than real, and I think that they went into a fantasy state together during those 10 days. They seemed normal: they played in the street, went fishing, watched the cricket at Lords; very innocent, late-Victorian pursuits. It felt to me like a period of play, or holiday, rather than anything cynical. They didn't try to hide or escape, and the way they talked about what they had done sounded as if they were in a state of suspended disbelief.

Indeed, the fact they didn't do anything to stop the body rotting meant it was inevitable that they would be found out. When the body *was* discovered, I have a feeling that Robert experienced a kind of relief.

How did the press and public regard the boys as the hearings unfolded?

In early court hearings Robert seemed indifferent, almost callous: interested in what was going on but not upset or remorseful. He turned himself out very well, in his

best clothes, whereas Nattie was dressed more childishly. The younger boy was much smaller, even though there was only a year between them, and he often quivered and sobbed. Whether because he was good at presenting himself in a more pitiable state, or because he was more vulnerable and unguarded, Nattie seemed like a child while Robert seemed to be a smart young man.

During the first few court appearances at which the press were able to observe him, Robert seemed self-possessed and rather pleased with himself. But during the trial at the Old Bailey, he started making faces, laughing to himself and acting in a very manic way. The press at the time interpreted this in various ways: some reporters wrote disgustedly that he was a psychopath who couldn't care less and was mocking the court, while others thought he was insane. At the trial, his counsel pleaded insanity - and some commentators wondered if, unable to maintain a veneer of coolness and sophistication, Robert's madness was coming out in the courtroom.

What do you think media coverage of the case tells us about the period?

Strange and extreme cases such as this are often fascinating for what they reveal about how people thought about themselves and their society. There was no longer the idea that the boys had been possessed by the devil, as there might have been a century earlier. The equivalent – following Darwinian theories that humans evolved from less 'advanced' creatures – was that the boys had degenerated to an atavistic, primitive state.

In such extreme cases commentators often latched on to the explanation that, particularly among the urban poor, there were 'throwbacks' to that earlier period, and that madness, depravity and delinquency could arise from a disease inherited from primitive times.

"During the trial, Robert began making faces, laughing to himself and acting in a very manic way"

Are there any parallels with 21stcentury scares about children?

This case *did* seem reminiscent of more recent events, especially the link that was made between the crime and some sensational magazines the police found in the boys' house. Many people ascribed Robert's attack on his mother to his consumption of these so-called 'penny dreadfuls'. The police gave the magazines to the coroners' court as evidence, and the inquest jury thought that the government should take steps to stop their publication.

This reminded me of cases in my lifetime in which commentators suggested links between crimes committed by children or adolescents and the violent 'video nasty' films they had watched or the video games they had played. There seems to be a continuing sense that excessive consumption of certain forms of popular culture can have a warping or criminalising effect on the young, so it was really interesting to read how people thought 'penny dreadfuls' had corrupted the boys. In a way, it was a template for the arguments that followed in the 20th and 21st century about comics, video games and violent films.

The other thing about 'penny dreadfuls' is that, because they originally cost a penny, they were widely available to the working classes. There was a sense that the character of the nation's working-class youth was being shaped by these magazines, and a real terror about where that might take society.

When researching this book, how hard was it to separate truth from fiction?

With a crime like this, the people in the story are quite likely to distort the facts in order to favour themselves and their own accounts. This applies to everyone: friends of the mother would tell the story through a lens, friends of the father would tell it so that he didn't look like a bad father, and so on. So I had to read everything sceptically, but without losing sight of the fact that these are the best possible witnesses and that I didn't know anything better than them.

What is your impression of the boys' mother and her relationship with them?

There was not much exploration of the mother's character or her relationship with the boys – partly because, whatever her quirks of character, it was wrong to speak ill



Robert Coombes murders his mother, as depicted in the *Illustrated Police News*, 27 July 1895. "Some reporters wrote that Robert was a psychopath who couldn't care less; others thought he was insane," says Kate Summerscale, whose book explores the case

of the dead, particularly a murdered mother.

But it was also because ideas that we have today – about how what happens in a family can create tensions that may lead to violence – were not as much explored. Experts of the time were looking for an illness in Robert, not a difficult relationship with his mother.

The clues I discovered during my research led me to think that she was a loving and affectionate person, and probably a doting mother, but quite mentally unstable. People described her as hysterical, and prone to laugh and cry at the same time. I think we would now describe her as having mental health problems.

There was also the fact that the murder, by the boys' own account, was provoked by a beating that she gave Nattie. Robert said that she had thrown knives at her younger son and threatened to kill him by sticking a hatchet in his head. All of that sounded to me to be beyond the normal correction that a Victorian parent would deliver. I think that she may have been quite an unstable and perhaps rather frightening mother.

This case was commented on very widely,

but I found only one source that wondered what had been going on in the boys' house. A magazine called *The Child's Guardian*, published by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, wrote that there could be brutality even in the most respectable families, and that brutality breeds brutality, They were hinting heavily that there had been domestic violence in the house and that the mother had been violent

to her sons. I found it interesting that, even if this wasn't an idea that existed widely, it was at least a thought that people *could* have.

So what was the outcome of the trial?

In the end the jury came in with a verdict of guilty, but with a recommendation for mercy on account of Robert's age, and because they said that they didn't think he really understood what he'd done. But the hardline judge wouldn't accept that result, so sent the jury back to find a verdict of either guilty or guilty but insane — and they decided on the latter. That meant that Robert wouldn't go to prison, but would be held in a lunatic asylum for 'as long as the queen wished'.

Did the verdict make the public and commentators reconsider the crime?

Most of the newspaper commentators of the time didn't believe that Robert was insane, nor that the jury or judge thought he was insane. Hardly anyone thought that he was crazy. What they *did* think was that this was a fair verdict because it was a way of showing Robert mercy due to his youth.

Because the law applied to him as much as it would have to an adult, the jury had taken it on themselves to find a loophole by which they could spare him the gallows or the full blame – to deliver a verdict that acknowledged his inability to have full responsibility for his actions. In effect they were ascribing Robert's crime to youth and, arguably, emotional disturbance rather than clinical madness.

"We are not so different today in the way we think of young people who do dreadful things"

How would you like this book to alter readers' views of cases such as this?

I think that, in many ways, we are not so different today in how we think about children and young people who do dreadful things. For me, it's a really enlightening and humanising exercise to look at cases such as this at a distance, to examine the ways people could think of them at the time, and to test our own ideas against them – including ideas about the influence of popular culture on young people.

This incident tells us something about the terrible things people can do while not being terrible people, or even becoming terrible people as a result. I found it quite a hopeful story in a way – even though from

the start it was about as terrible a crime as people can imagine.

The Wicked Boy: The
Mystery of a Victorian Child
Murderer by Kate Summerscale
(Bloomsbury, 400 pages, £16.99)

THE WICKED BOY

THE MYSTERY OF A VICTORIAN CHILD MURDERER
EATE SUMMERSCALE

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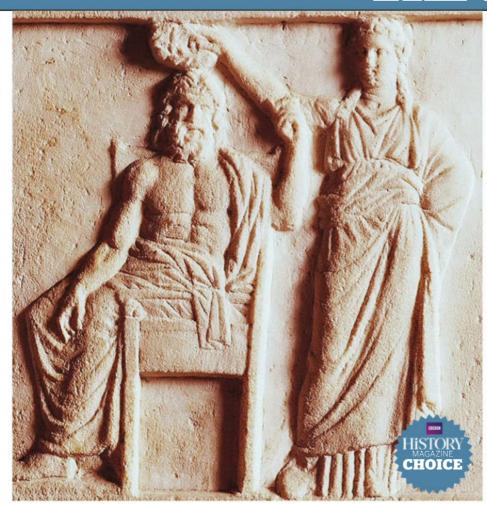
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REVIEWS





Demos (representing the people of Athens) is crowned by Democracy in this marble relief. Paul Cartledge's book shows how this "radical, direct democracy" was unlike modern interpretations

Power to the people?

PETER JONES explores an important, in-depth history of democracy from the ancient world until the present day

Democracy: A Life

by Paul Cartledge
Oxford University Press, 416 pages, £20



As Paul Cartledge explains, this 'life' of democracy – from its invention in Athens in 508 BC up to the 21st century – springs from a course that he taught at the University of Cambridge.

It goes into great detail about the issues

caused by a scarcity of sources and their interpretation, and has almost 50 pages of notes, references and bibliography. It is perhaps not for the faint-hearted.

Cartledge takes a broadly traditional view that anti-aristocratic stirrings can be found in the works of the earliest Greek authors, including the epic poet Homer and farmer poet Hesiod – thought to have written around 700 BC. He also argues that the Athenian reformer Solon was responsible for starting to devolve power away from aristocrats in 594 BC. Solon's measures included access to

office for the nouveaux riches, freeing the poor from debt-bondage and opening a court of appeal for them.

The noble Athenian Cleisthenes brought this process to a climax with the invention of the principle of citizen power in 508 BC. Over the next 186 years, before it was killed by Macedon in 322 BC, that power turned into radical, direct democracy. This was government of the people literally by the people – and therefore, by definition, for the people – and quite unlike both Abraham Lincoln's and the present-day UK's representative, and therefore undemocratic, systems.

Further, the same Athenians who made the law in assembly also sat in judgment over it in the courts – no separation of powers for them. As such, it's hard to agree with Cartledge's claim that in 406 BC a 'kangaroo court' decided to scrap an important law forbidding people being tried *en bloc*. That decision was made by a full, if raucous, assembly, because it could, in fact, do what it liked. Two months later, the judgment was overturned. That's the assembly for you: it was sovereign. By definition it could do no wrong.

But Cartledge is right to say that Athens' model of democracy was more extreme than that of many other Greek *poleis* (city-states) that tried it. This was especially true in the fourth century BC (from when most of our evidence comes).

In 404 BC, Sparta had defeated Athens in the drawn-out Peloponnesian War and attempted to impose severe oligarchies on Greek states as a whole. But then, as now, Greeks placed huge importance on their independence. So even Sparta's old ally Thebes and Boeotia turned against her, adopting a democratic form of government, and a golden age of (moderate) democracy ensued. It came to an end when Macedon imposed itself on the Greek

"Rome was the model for the oligarchy that the west has come to term 'democracy'"

IDGEMAN

8

COMING SOON.

"Next month marks the 200th issue of *BBC History Magazine* and, to celebrate, we met up with four leading authors to discuss their views on the world of history books. How have things changed since the magazine's launch in 2000? What's their top title of the past 16 years? Find out next issue..." *Matt Elton, reviews editor*

world after 322 BC, real democracy degraded into a form of light-touch oligarchy, and the people were no longer able to control their own fate.

Cartledge then moves on to consider briefly Roman republicanism and its resonance into the 19th century. This is important because Rome's model of an all-powerful senate, ensuring that 'approved' executives were elected to power, strongly appealed to political thinkers in Italy, France, the US and the UK during the Renaissance and beyond. They thought of Athens as mob-ruled, and made Rome the future model for the elective oligarchy that the west – and, increasingly, the world – has come to term 'democracy'. Indeed, the word 'democracy'.

"He laments the corruption of Athens' invention, agonising over what might be done about it"

racy' did not enter the English language until the 16th century, and it was only in the 19th that what had been correctly termed 'republicanism' suddenly and absurdly became the 'democracy' that the west attempts to impose on those who live under alternative systems.

Cartledge closes by lamenting the corruption of Athens' great invention and agonising over what might be done about it. His conclusion? There is nothing that can be done. Strangely, he does not give the Swiss due credit for their constitution, which comes as close to democratic as the world will ever get. Its referenda-based political system ensures that no laws can be passed at national or local level without popular approval. Naturally, Swiss politicians abhor it but the people take a different view. No western power would ever dream of adopting it. That said, looking at the alternatives, we in the west should be grateful for the governments that we do have – however oligarchic.

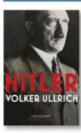
Peter Jones is author of *Eureka! Everything* You Ever Wanted to Know About the Ancient Greeks but Were Afraid to Ask (Atlantic, 2014)

At home with Hitler

ROGER MOORHOUSE on a biography of the Nazi leader that finds a gap in a crowded market by focusing on his personality

Hitler: Ascent, 1889-1939

by Volker Ullrich
Bodley Head, 998 pages, £30



Readers may wonder why we need a new biography of Adolf Hitler. Aren't there enough already? Didn't Ian Kershaw's twovolume offering of 15 years ago satisfy our collective fascination

with that most odious of dictators? Is there really anything new to be said?

Well, yes and no. Actually, for all the many thousands of books devoted to Hitler, there are relatively few serious biographies, so a new one does not seem excessive. Moreover, the premise of this new work by German journalist and historian Volker Ullrich is that previous biographers have largely tended to overlook the person at the heart of their story: they were more interested in Hitler as a political actor, rather than as a human being. It is that omission that Ullrich is trying to correct.

That said, Ullrich's book is very much a conventional, chronological biography, albeit one with frequent asides from Hitler's acolytes and acquaintances. It also features a couple of thematic chapters to deal with specific areas such as his relationships with women. Little of this is new, of course,

but it is presented in an engaging way. Crucially, too, Ullrich sifts the facts from the years of accumulated

Hitler and Eva Braun, c1933. The couple likely had a "very normal" relationship, a new book suggests mythology to produce a resolutely sensible account.

The dictator who emerges is at once familiar and surprising. It will shock few readers to hear that he could be aloof, or that he was a gifted political 'actor' with a prodigious memory. Neither should it surprise us that, for all his talents, Hitler was intellectually insecure and did not take criticism or contradiction at all well.

What might be more intriguing is that Hitler was not teetotal (as is so often assumed) and was a keen mimic of Mussolini. And, despite perennial and sometimes fevered speculation to the contrary, Ullrich suggests that Hitler's romantic life with Eva Braun was most likely very normal.

Ullrich's claim to a more profound significance for his book – as a reaction to the tendency to omit Hitler the person from the narrative – is interesting. He is probably right to assert that some previous biographers, in their quest to understand Hitler the politician, may well have overlooked the man himself.

The crucial question is whether the complexities of Hitler's character have any historical significance beyond our modern taste for gossip. And on this point Ullrich makes his case rather well. He introduces no grand revelations or dubious, headline-grabbing assertions, but reminds us that the various strands of a life are never mutually exclusive, and

other. This is very much a synthesis of existing scholarship on Hitler, but no less readable

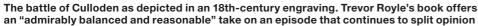
that character is as much a valid

or important for all that.

Roger Moorhouse is author of *The Devils'* Alliance: Hitler's Pact with Stalin, 1939 1941 (Bodley Head, 2014)

ETTY





Battle scars

RAB HOUSTON commends an even-handed look at Culloden, the last pitched battle to be fought on British soil, and one that still matters

Culloden: Scotland's Last Battle and the Forging of the British Empire

by Trevor Royle
Little, Brown, 432 pages, £25



On 16 April 1746, a poorly led Jacobite army was comprehensively defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at the battle of Culloden. The result sealed the fate of the House of Stewart's

claim to the throne of Britain, then occupied by the Hanoverian George II. Shorn of centuries of romance and myth, our view of the battle is now very clear.

There is still room for more work on the subject, however, and this lively,

exciting book is the perfect introduction to Culloden and why it matters. Trevor Royle, a military historian and journalist, is a lucid, elegant writer who excels at explaining the tactics and techniques of warfare and the dynamics of battle.

At Culloden, the Hanoverian army's tight discipline, regimented musket volleys and close artillery support worked to devastating effect against the more free-form charges of the swordwielding Jacobites. The government army lost perhaps 150 men; the Jacobites lost 10 times that number. The military lessons learned proved enduringly useful.

"Royle's lively book is a perfect introduction to the battle"

But this is not just another military history. The contest between Jacobites and Hanoverians was not simply Scots versus English; half of the government army comprised Scottish soldiers. Royle shows how Culloden was about dynastic and personal loyalties, as well as part of the titanic struggle between Catholics and Protestants in Europe that began at the Reformation.

It was also an episode in international power politics. Royle sets Culloden against the backdrop of the 'Second Hundred Years' War' between England and France, fought on and off around the globe between 1689 and 1815.

By 1815 Britain had emerged as the most powerful nation on Earth. But out of participation in wars from India to Canada came a very different Scotland. No longer a threat, it incorporated itself eagerly into the British imperial mission, providing men to fight former allies and new foes alike, and to administer an empire on which the sun truly did not set.

Yet that assimilation had been far from painless. Equating Highlanders with disloyalty and barbarity, after Culloden the Duke of Cumberland began a programme of ethnic cleansing that provided a roadmap for the subsequent treatment of other 'inferior' peoples, notably in North America.

Frictions also remained in the UK. In retrospect, the Hanoverians were secure after 1746, but the government still thought it wise in 1769 to build the imposing Fort George just 10 miles from the battlefield.

Some Scots believe we still live with the implications of the battle and the attitudes it revealed. Aware of how much Culloden polarises opinion, Royle's treatment of this and other politically charged issues is admirably balanced and reasonable. Knowing why Culloden really matters helps us to better understand not only Scotland and England as they grew uneasily closer in the century after the Union of 1707, but also the formation of the British empire in that century and beyond.

Rab Houston is author of *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction* (OUP, 2008)

RRIDGEMAN

A 1970 propaganda poster depicting the apparently happy lives of China's people during the Cultural Revolution. "Frank Dikötter narrates his story with little horror spared," says Robert Bickers

Chaos and catastrophe

ROBERT BICKERS recommends the final volume in a trilogy on China's history, covering the years of the Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution: A People's History, 1962-1976

by Frank Dikötter Bloomsbury, 432 pages, £20



In a 1973 comic strip, a US hippy displays his talking cat. "Tell me, cat!" he asks, "who is the glorious Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Party?" He then pulls the cat's tail, hard. "Mao!"

it shrieks: cue laughter – for some.

The Cultural Revolution was not just a joke, it was an inspiration for youth culture across the western world. In 1973, seven years after it exploded into being in the summer of 1966, it was still so damaging to China's economy and society that many thousands in the countryside were starving – victims of famine. By 1974, around 1.5 million people had died in factional conflict or at the hands of their persecutors. It had not been good for cats, either. Considered a bourgeois affectation, they were killed in

their thousands by gangs of violent young 'Red Guards' - shock troops of the revolutionary upsurge who lionised Mao Zedong – as they ransacked the homes of alleged class enemies and traitors.

In his new book – the third in a trilogy about the first three decades of the People's Republic of China from its establishment in 1949 – Frank Dikötter narrates this story with little horror spared. Nothing here should surprise us: the revolution has been a publishing phenomenon since the 1980s, when the first memoirs by its victims – and dupes – began appearing. Such books are well used, as are the great profusion of works by overseas writers whose adulation of Mao now leaves a bad taste in the mouth, and by journalists and diplomats who reported from the inside. Dikötter has

"By 1973, thousands in China's countryside were starving - victims of famine"



also woven in accounts from Chinese archives, which never cease to shock.

By 1965, the 16th anniversary of the communist state, China had endured a series of appalling and callous policies that caused tens of millions of deaths through famine. The more extreme aspects of Mao's pell-mell dash for socialism had been moderated by his comrades-in-arms, and the 72-year-old chairman feared that Stalin's posthumous fate – denunciation and repudiation - would be his in life. The Cultural Revolution was his pre-emptive strike against those he believed might overtake him. It was intended to reinvigorate the revolution by drawing on the fervour of the young to destroy any possibility of a rolling back of the Maoist state, and unleashed a wave of anger and violence.

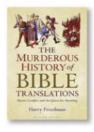
The course of events was dizzyingly

Adapting the word of God

JONATHAN WRIGHT *enjoys* a look at how translating the *Bible has been a divisive – and sometimes deadly – pursuit*

The Murderous History of Bible Translations

by Harry Freedman Bloomsbury, 256 pages, £20



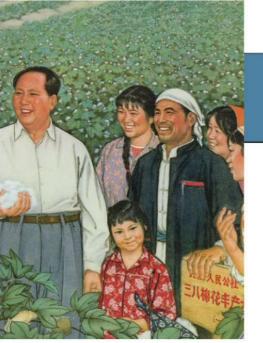
Translating the Bible is more than a daunting intellectual challenge: it can also be a way of asserting the theological idiosyncrasies of a faith. Changing a word here or a phrase there

might thrill your fellow religionists or horrify your religious adversaries. Small wonder, then, that many of the figures in Harry Freedman's book often found themselves mired in controversy.

Few suffered to the extent of William Tyndale, burned at the stake in 1536 after producing the first printed English version of the Bible, but name-calling, ostracism and charges of betrayal or heterodoxy were far from uncommon. Freedman finds this rather disheartening. He writes that "the act of translating the

Bible really should not be contentious" and has a habit of scolding the past when it does not live up to his (decidedly modern) standards of free enquiry and religious liberty. We are informed that the medieval church used the translated Bible "as a whipping boy, prohibiting its use to ensure that people believed what they were told". We hear that translation was supposed to be liberating and inspirational but that, in the hands of religious conservatism, it "became a barrier to social evolution".

Fortunately, such heavy-handed adjudications do not distract too greatly from a wide-ranging and thoroughly entertaining narrative. The book travels from Greek translations in ancient Alexandria to the modern 'Bible Wars' of



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Brain freeze

ROBERT J MAYHEW has mixed feelings about a study of how the 17th century shaped our modern view of the world

The Age of Genius: The 17th Century and the Birth of the Modern Mind

by AC Grayling
Bloomsbury, 368 pages, £25

THE AGE OF GENIUS HE SEVENEENH CENTURY & HE BIRTH OF HE MODERN MIND A.C. GRAYLING

The central argument of this book is simple, bold and unabashedly old: that 17th-century Europe saw the birth of the modern world we now inhabit. This idea has long been embodied in the

notion, for one community of historians, of a 'scientific revolution', and for another in the concept of an 'English revolution' in government.

AC Grayling inflects this traditional approach somewhat by adding the claim that an age of instability was needed to precipitate the collapse of old - Christian, classical and occultist - ideas, and that this is precisely what the turmoil of the 17th-century Thirty Years' War provided. Grayling argues that its very futility proved the worthlessness of the ideas for which it was fought. It's a shame that he does not make this claim with more precision, however, as it is an interesting one. Instead, fully one-third of his book is devoted to chronicling the strife of the century, with very little integration into the account of its purportedly revolutionary ideas.

In truth, this is a disappointing book precisely because of its simplicity. Grayling repeatedly notes that historians – a 'contentious' breed, by his account – have tried to add complexity to our understanding of the 17th century, before dismissing such scholarship as having favoured attention to detail at the expense of capturing the essence of the age. As such, historical work – addressing subjects including what was at stake in the Thirty Years' War, the extent to which secularisation took place in the century, the scientific revolution's tangled

relationship with religion, magic and alchemy – is all sidelined. To write a book of history that skates over much of the best previous work about the era under investigation is an odd achievement.

Additionally, and surprisingly for a philosopher, Grayling never gives us a precise definition of what he takes the modern world, mind or age to be. It is clearly scientific, secular and liberal, but the relationship between these ideas and those that they apparently transcended is not addressed – except to see physicist and mathematician Isaac Newton's interest in alchemy and Biblical prophecy as the exception that proves the rule of the transition to modernity. Any darker side of this modernity, whether empire, warfare or intolerance, is also ignored.

The Age of Genius, then, wants to chart a progressive narrative of the triumph of reason over dogmatism. The problem is that as a work of historical inquiry it is reliant on the dogmatic assertion of its narrative at the expense of the detailed record of the past. This is a shame: the lineaments of the tale Grayling tells are fascinating and have merit, but his mode of telling it will alienate the more inquiring, reasoning and, yes, modern minds that it seeks to attract.

Robert J Mayhew is professor of historical geography and intellectual history at the University of Bristol

the period's intellectual progress

Jeremiah Horrocks, a key figure in 17th-century astronomy. Grayling's book considers the importance of

contorted. State president Liu Shaoqi was toppled and excoriated, and died after deliberate medical neglect. Mao's putative heir, Lin, died after a failed bid to seize power. Parts of the country were plunged into civil war; order was restored only when the army seized control. Mao died in September 1976, by which point the country was shattered and exhausted.

Much of the origin of the current regime's harsh handling of real or perceived dissent lies in bitter memories of the chaos that ensued when the ageing chairman launched this bid for revolutionary immortality. As such, this is a timely, sobering account of a period of huge and traumatic upheaval.

Robert Bickers is the author of *The Scramble* for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire (Allen Lane, 2011)

the US, stopping off in medieval France and Reformation-divided Europe. Less familiar episodes, such as squabbles in 19th-century Russia between advocates of a modern translation and those who prized the Old Slavonic version, also make welcome appearances.

Readers will emerge with a clear sense of just how crucial the work of biblical translation has been to the history of Christianity, not to mention its cultural and linguistic impact far beyond pulpit and the pew. Given what was at stake, it seems entirely appropriate that, despite Freedman's misgivings, the process has been thoroughly contentious.

Jonathan Wright is coeditor of *The Jesuit* Suppression in Global Context (CUP, 2015)

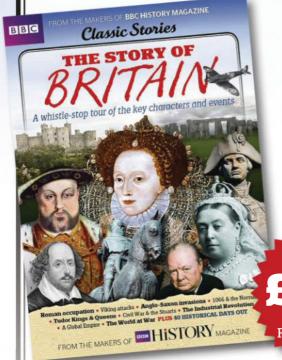
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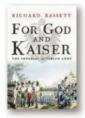
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PAPERBACKS



For God and Kaiser: The Imperial Austrian Army

by Richard Bassett Yale, 616 pages, £12.99



Famously, the Habsburg dynasty that ruled Austria from the 15th to the 19th century, building its

multinational empire into a major European player, founded its power on brokering shrewd dynastic marriages rather than military victories. According to this view, match-making, not martial glory, was the secret of Austria's survival and success.

Richard Bassett does not buy into this myth. In this genuinely ground-breaking history of a subject neglected in English, he convincingly demonstrates that the imperial Austrian army's unenviable reputation for inefficiency, incompetence and humiliating capitulations is, if not totally baseless, at least grossly exaggerated. He traces his story across three centuries, from the ruinous Thirty Years' War – when the imperial army stopped the Protestant reformation from spreading south from Germany - through Austria's resistance to the rise of Frederick the Great's Prussia and its battling of French expansionism under Louis XIV and Napoleon. He ends with a look at Austria's role as the spearhead of royalist reaction in the 19th century when it crushed revolution in Italy, Hungary and Poland. Throughout, Bassett makes a persuasive case for his revisionist thesis.

Even after Austria lost the leadership of German-speaking Europe to Bismarck's Prussia following its decisive defeat at Königgrätz in 1866, it ably acted as junior partner to Germany in the First World War, defeating Serbia, resisting Russia and fighting a dogged mountain war against its old enemy Italy until it finally fell apart in 1918.

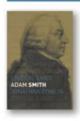
A former correspondent for *The Times* in Vienna, Bassett is a seasoned journalist and never

loses his grip or lets the pace of his narrative slacken. From pen portraits of great soldiers such as Prince Eugene and Marshal Radetzky to its weird and wonderful command structure, few aspects of Austria's colourful history escape Bassett's eagle eye in a book that brilliantly fills a gaping hole in Europe's history.

Nigel Jones is an author and historian who will be leading a historical tour of Vienna in June: historicaltrips.com

Adam Smith

by Jonathan Conlin
Reaktion Books, 200 pages, £11.99



In a well-written and consistently interesting study, Jonathan Conlin shows how Adam Smith, key thinker in the

development of economics, is directly relevant not only for the late 18th century but also for today. Conlin argues that Smith anticipated significant recent developments in both economics and ethics, as well as debates over inequality. As far as the former is concerned, Smith's interest in the philosophy of mind and the apparently irrational nature of thought appeals to modern economists.

Conlin seeks relevance culturally as well as intellectually. Gordon Gekko, from the 1987 film *Wall Street* (and its 2010 sequel), and the real-life French economist Thomas Piketty are both featured.

This book is part of an ongoing series, Critical Lives, that aims to offer a modern view of past thinkers, exploring their lives in relation to their major works. As such, it's valuable but presentist; whether it is overly so will be a matter for discussion. In particular, the major role of religion in 18th-century thought may well be underplayed. However, this remains a valuable, interesting and well-written book. Conlin deserves congratulations.

Jeremy Black is professor of history at the University of Exeter



"Bassett's book brilliantly fills a gaping hole in Europe's history"

The 1866 battle of Königgrätz as seen in a 19th-century painting. Richard Bassett's look at the Austrian army is "ground-breaking", says Nigel Jones

AKG-IMAGES

BBC History Magazine





Londoners flee the city's Great Fire in a c1754 illustration. Andrew Taylor's novel is set in "a city traumatised by the disaster and by religious and political conflict"

FICTION

Death and destruction

NICK RENNISON has high praise for a novel of murder and intrigue in the fire-blackened streets of 17th-century London

The Ashes of London

by Andrew Taylor HarperCollins, 496 pages, £14.99



Tuesday 4 September 1666: the flames of the Great Fire of London reach St Paul's Cathedral. By evening they have reduced the ancient edifice to ruins. Among those

watching with appalled fascination is James Marwood, hero and narrator of much of this powerful novel about murder, mystery and divided loyalties in Restoration England. Marwood's father, an unreconstructed religious republican who believes in the rule of King Jesus rather than King Charles II, has just finished a prison sentence for his role in a failed uprising against the monarchy. To ensure his father's continued safety, James has been forced to work as a government agent.

When a body is discovered in the rubble of the cathedral, he is one of those deputed to investigate. The dead

man turns out not to be a victim of the fire: his thumbs have been tied behind his back and he has a stab wound to the neck. James is looking for a murderer.

In another part of London, Cat Lovett, daughter of one of the regicides who condemned Charles I to death, is the unhappy ward of her uncle, a wealthy goldsmith. Chivvied towards a marriage that she doesn't want and damaged by the sexual violence of her loathsome cousin, she flees into the anonymity of the city, hoping to make contact with her father. But he is a marked man, liable to be hanged, drawn and quartered if caught by the king's men. As the complex plot unfolds, Cat's and James's twisting paths start to cross.

Andrew Taylor succeeds brilliantly in creating a portrait of a city traumatised both by the disaster of the fire and by the religious and political conflicts that the Restoration has failed to heal. Through the ashes of the city, his characters pursue very different ambitions as the story heads towards a violent, dramatic resolution in the shell of St Paul's.

Nick Rennison is the author of *Carver's Quest* (Corvus, 2013)

THREE MORE TALES OF 17TH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Restoration

Rose Tremain (1989)



In Rose Tremain's richly evocative novel, Robert Merivel is a courtier attendant on Charles II, caught up in the amoral hedonism of the court. Cast aside

when he has served the king's purpose, he is forced to make his way in the far bleaker world outside the gilded walls of court. As he struggles to contend with the dangers brought about by both plague and fire, Merivel learns new truths about himself and discovers new meanings in his life.

Year of Wonders

Geraldine Brooks (2001)



Based on the true story of the Derbyshire village of Eyam, Brooks's first novel follows the lives of 17th-century villagers as they struggle to retain their humanity

in the face of an epidemic of the plague. Seen through the eyes of one young woman who has to face the death of those that she loves and the disintegration of her world, this is a moving novel about the courage and self-sacrifice of which ordinary people are capable.

Fire

CC Humphreys (2016)



In 2014, Humphreys produced *Plague*, a well-crafted and engaging tale of a thief and a thief-taker joining forces to track down a serial killer at work in the pox-

ridden streets of London in 1665. Now the sequel has arrived in bookshops. Set a year later, it sees Coke and Pitman, the two protagonists of Humphreys' previous work, recruited to fight against a gang of religious fanatics who are out to kill the king as the city burns.

GETT

TV&RADIO



CHOICE



Trading places

The Silk Road

TV BBC Four, scheduled for late April

Since the 1979 revolution, Iran has often been internationally isolated. Yet, as Dr Sam Willis discovered when he researched his epic new historical travel series on the Silk Road (the trading route that linked Asia and Europe), in times past this was far from true.

"The countries of central Asia were [once] most aware of what was happening everywhere because of the constant influence of trade, and people coming from both east and west," Willis says. "The Iranians felt as if they were in the centre of the world."

This idea of connections runs through the series, which sees Willis visit not just Iran ("They found the idea of a western film crew quite bewildering") but also Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkey on his journey west from Xi'an in China to Venice.

Such connections did not always endure, though. The Sogdians, an ancient civilisation in what's now Iran, "dominated the Silk Road trade of central Asia" until invading armies drove them into the mountains. In the remote Yagnob valley, Willis met their descendants. "To hear them speak is to hear history at least 2,000 years old," Willis says. "It sent a shiver up my spine because the language is dying."

You can read a longer version of this interview at history extra.com/bbchistory magazine

Celebrating the Bard

The BBC commemorates the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's death with a feast of related programmes

BBC Shakespeare Festival TV & RADIO, BBC networks,

from April

Exactly 400 years ago on 23 April, England's national poet, William Shakespeare, made his final exit. The BBC is marking this anniversary with a season of special programmes launched with *Shakespeare Live! From the RSC* (BBC Two, Saturday 23 April), a celebration of the writer's words and influence, hosted by David Tennant.

New adaptations of *Henry VI* and *Richard III* are brought to the screen in *The Hollow Crown: The Wars of the Roses* (BBC Two), with Hugh Bonneville, Benedict Cumberbatch, Judi Dench, Michael Gambon, Keeley Hawes and Sophie Okonedo heading starry casts. BBC One airs a new take on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, adapted by Russell T Davies with family audiences in mind, starring Maxine Peake, Matt Lucas, John Hannah and Elaine Paige.

Arena: All the World's a Screen – Shakespeare on Film (BBC Four) explores how moviemakers including Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, Akira Kurosawa and Baz Luhrmann have brought the Bard to the big screen. In

Cunk on Shakespeare – A
Moments of Wonder Special (BBC
Two), Screen Wipe regular Philomena
Cunk (aka comedian Diane Morgan)
will offer a rather less serious take on
the playwright – despite promising
"30 factually accurate minutes".

Upstart Crow (BBC Two) is a new sitcom from Ben Elton starring David Mitchell as a young Shakespeare trying to catch a break, while a Bard-powered Horrible Histories (CBBC) promises the show's usual irreverent take on the past. A Countryfile special (BBC One) details how Shakespeare's work has shaped how we see England's rural landscapes.

Radio highlights include Shakespeare and the American Dream (Radio 4), in which Robert McCrum looks at how Shakespeare's work has resonated – and still resonates – with audiences across the Atlantic. On Radio 3, an edition of In Concert (Saturday 23 April) features Samuel West performing The Garrick Ode, written to honour Shakespeare in 1769. A Play for the Heart: The Death of Shakespeare, written by Nick Warburton, is set at the end of the playwright's life, while Wolf in the Water continues the story of Jessica, Shylock's daughter in The Merchant of Venice.



3BC

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Mary Beard explores the history of the Roman empire on BBC Two

What did the Romans ever do for us? One person who knows better than most is Mary Beard who returns to our screens with **Mary Beard's Ultimate Rome: Empire Without Limit** (BBC Two, Wednesday
27 April). Also on BBC Two, **Peaky Blinders**, Steven Knight's terrific post-First World War gangster series, returns for a third season in May.

Radio highlights include an edition of Costing the Earth (Radio 4, Tuesday 26 April) marking the 30th anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster and examining its impact on Germany. Even now, Julian Rush explains, mushrooms and wild boar from the Black Forest region show such high levels of radioactivity that they're inedible. Among the episodes of Great Lives, Timmy Mallett speaks up for Richard the Lionheart (Radio 4, Tuesday 17 May), with Helen Castor the historical expert. For Archive on 4: Return to Subtopia (Radio 4, Saturday 7 May), architectural historian Gillian Darley looks at failures in the post-Second World War planning system; the title is a reference to architectural critic Ian Nairn's 1950s observation that the fringes of Britain's urban areas were becoming drab.

On Yesterday, **Shakespeare - the Legacy** (Thursday 21 April) is
presented by John Nettles. On PBS
America, **Jamestown's Dark Winter**(Wednesday 27 April) tells the horrific
story of the New World settlement's
"starving time": winter 1609–10.
Also on PBS, **The White House: Inside Story** (Friday 29 April) traces
the history of that famous mansion
through the lives of the families that
have called it home.

On the continent

Europeans: The Roots of Identity RADIO Radio 4, scheduled for Tuesday 10 May

Born in Toronto, Professor Margaret MacMillan grew up with a distinctive idea of a place called 'Europe'. Subsequently, she's become fascinated by the idea that European identity has a deeper history of competing local and national identities affecting not just politics but also day-to-day life.

MacMillan first visits Rome, where the idea of a 'universal' Europe is rooted in an imperial past. In Italy's capital, she considers the tension between unity and diversity. Next she travels to Estonia – a small country, but one that highlights the question of where Europe ends. It's also a land that's been invaded and conquered many times, and where ancient links and cultures – pagan, Germanic and Baltic – are reasserting themselves.

Her final stop is Amsterdam, a port city where global links have long been important. The European 'way of life' and liberal values, says MacMillan, were partly built on trade and consumption. But how did the Netherlands relate to the wider world? And how does colonial history feed into the modern world? Such questions, it might be added, are echoed in British history.

Reinventing TV history

Culloden & The War Game

DVD (BFI, £19.99, cert: 12)

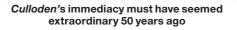
Today, the idea of a docudrama is familiar – many might argue over-familiar. This wasn't the case back in 1964, when Peter Watkins made *Culloden*, his film about the bruising 1746 clash – "one of the most mishandled and brutal battles ever fought in Britain" – that ended the Jacobite rising.

As that quote from the script suggests, it's a revisionist piece, hugely controversial in its time, that mourns the passing of the clan system and focuses on the experiences of rank-and-file troops.

Using an amateur cast, Watkins carefully chose camera angles that would hide his limited budget. Most remarkably, *Culloden* also tells its story in the style of contemporary TV news coverage, giving the film an immediacy that must have seemed extraordinary five decades ago.

The following year, Watkins directed The War Game, a fictional account of a nuclear attack on Kent so harrowing that it was effectively banned from TV for two decades, but which won the 1966 Academy Award for Best

Documentary Feature.
The DVD contains
remastered versions
with supporting
material including
an interview with
film editor Michael
Bradsell, who
worked with Peter
Watkins at the BBC.



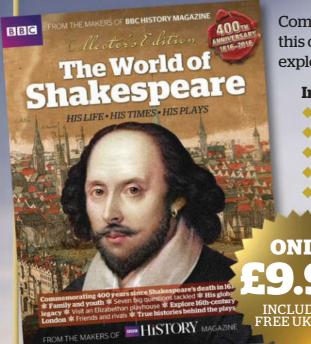
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OUT ABOUT

HISTORY EXPLORER

The golden age of sail

Andrew Lambert and Spencer Mizen visit the **Cutty Sark** in Greenwich to explore how a new class of sailing ship, the clipper, transformed global trade

he humble cup of tea has been credited with all kinds of health benefits down the centuries, from strengthening bones to boosting the immune system. But could it really have been the driving force behind one of history's greatest pieces of maritime engineering? It sounds rather unlikely - until you spend a couple of hours aboard the Cutty Sark.

The Cutty Sark's golden years are well behind her now. Today she sits regally in historic Greenwich, a unique, endlessly fascinating yet entirely motionless relic of an era when Britain did, to all intents and purposes, rule the waves. But a century and a half ago she was anything but motionless, slicing through the oceans at higher speeds than virtually any other vessel on Earth to bring back to these shores her precious cargo of – yes, you guessed it – tea.

To a landlubber layman, the Cutty Sark looks much like any other sailing ship – a tangled, if elegant, mass of timber and rigging. But to those in the know such as naval historian Andrew Lambert she was the acme of sailing-ship design, a state-of-the-art piece of maritime engineering that helped redefine the way that Britain moved goods such as tea around the world.

The Cutty Sark represented a new breed of sailing ship: a clipper. This small, rapid class of vessel emerged in the 1840s,

A bourgeois British family settles down for teatime in a 19th-century engraving crossing the world's oceans at previously unheard-of speeds and revolutionising the process of trade.

"The traditional merchant ship – which dominated the world's sea lanes in the early 19th century – was slow and capacious, often loaded down with bulky, low-value goods," says Andrew, as the vessel's towering masts loom over us. "Clippers changed all that, almost overnight. They combined the virtues of a merchant ship and a racing vacht, boasting a very fine hull form designed to slice through the water quickly, and a massive sail area.

"These were highly sophisticated windcatching machines, and their speed was phenomenal. A standard merchant ship would make 10mph on a good day, whereas the fastest clippers could hit speeds of over 17 knots – 20mph. So in effect you're transforming the transit van into a Formula 1 car."

Britain may have ruled the waves but it was the Americans who pioneered this ultra-rapid class of vessel - spurred on, to a great extent, by the Californian gold rush. When gold was found at Sutter's Mill, north-east of San Francisco, in 1848, there was suddenly a powerful incentive to travel from one side of the US to the other very quickly. So a fleet of clippers was soon racing from New York round Cape Horn

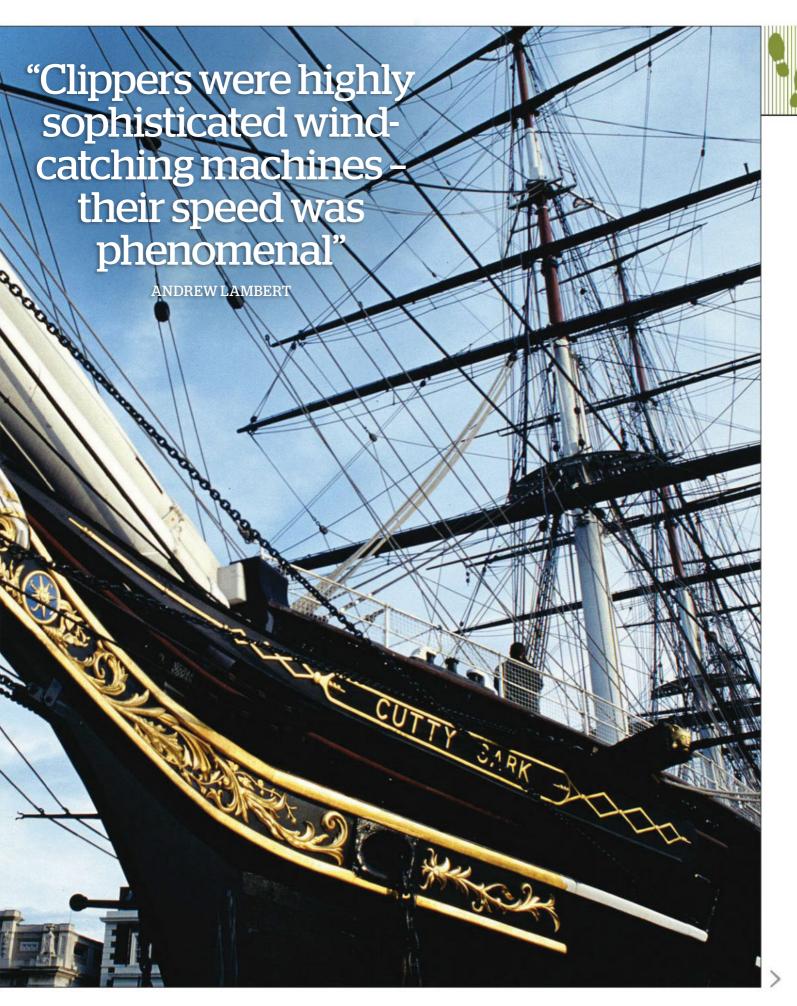
to California in record times. One such ship, Flying Cloud, completed the voyage in 89 days and 8 hours – a

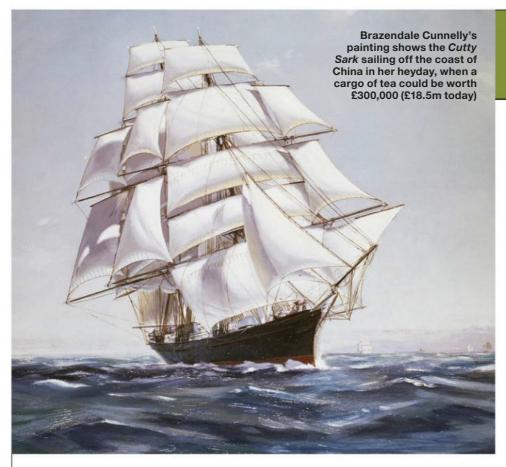
record that would stand for well over 100 years.

complete days and 8 hour d that would stand to over 100 years.

It goes without saying that ritain wasn't about to sit and watch another maritime whalanx Britain wasn't about to sit around and watch another nation steal her maritime thunder. Yet when a phalanx of ever more streamlined and







rapid clippers began emerging from British dockyards throughout the 1850s, it wasn't because of some deficit in national pride, but an economic imperative.

Tea and capes

"Sometime in the late 18th century, Britain became a tea-drinking nation," says Lambert. "Everyone was drinking it – from the elite, who were buying particular high-end brands, to those at the other end of the social ladder, who were drinking more humdrum varieties. The upshot was that there was a massive demand for tea grown in China, and a huge amount of money to be made by those who could deliver that tea to the shores of Britain – and, importantly, deliver it before everyone else."

Enter a canny Scottish businessman by the name of Jock Willis. He was quick to spot the money-making potential of swiftly delivering a high-value cargo to Britain from the tea-growing fields of China, and commissioned the building of a ship in Dumbarton, Scotland, capable of doing just that. Rather bizarrely, he named her after a short

nightdress worn by a witch in the Robert Burns poem *Tam o' Shanter*: the 'cutty-sark'.

The *Cutty Sark* bankrupted the company that built her. But it wasn't long after she started plying the tea trade in 1869 – racing down the west coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope and then on up to China, returning home in a round trip of about eight months – that she was making her owner vast amounts of money.

"The Cutty Sark cost about £16,000 [roughly £1m in 2016 terms] to build," says Lambert. "That sounds like a lot of money – until you consider that a full cargo of tea was worth close to £300,000, or about £18.5m in modern money. It's safe to say that she was turning a handsome profit almost immediately."

And it wasn't just Jock Willis who was doing very nicely out of the *Cutty Sark*. "The British government imposed a 100 per cent import levy on tea. It's been calculated that this levy alone covered the entire cost of running the Royal Navy in the first half of the 19th century. Ships such as the *Cutty Sark* were serious money-spinners."

"THE ABILITY OF SHIPS TO SAIL AROUND THE GLOBE REGULARLY AND RELIABLY LINKED UP THE WORLD FOR THE FIRST TIME" They were also seriously famous. Such was the demand for tea that the first clipper to arrive back in London each year would fetch a premium price for its cargo. Every shipbuilder wanted their vessels to win this honour, so they began to race back from China, their progress recorded by Lloyds of London and wired back to newspapers in Britain.

"The tea race was a great public event," says Lambert. "The fastest clippers such as the *Thermopylae*, the *Taeping* and, of course, the *Cutty Sark* became household names. People were genuinely on the edge of their seats, waiting to see which ship would be the first to unload her cargo in East India Docks – many because they'd gambled considerable amounts of money on the outcome.

"As just about the last – and, probably, the best – clipper ever built, the *Cutty Sark* was arguably the fastest of the lot, but she never won the tea race. One year she was leading by miles when her rudder gave way, and she eventually limped home in second place."

Almost as remarkable as the speed with which these ships crossed the world's oceans was the fact that they could do so unimpeded by pirates or enemy ships. This was a sign of Britain's dominance of the oceans, says Lambert. "The *Cutty Sark* had no armaments, it couldn't defend itself, and could easily be captured. But Britain controlled the oceans. There was no one to threaten its pre-eminence on the seas and, therefore, its ships."

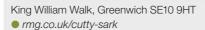
Such was British maritime dominance in this period that by the middle of the 19th

The Cutty Sark is now suspended above a custom-built, atmosphere-controlled dry dock in Greenwich, allowing visitors to walk beneath her hull

82 BBC History Magazine

VISIT *Cutty Sark*

Cutty Sark



calls the "first truly global economy".

"The ability of ships to sail around the globe regularly and reliably, carrying people, cargo and mail to India, China, Australia and the Americas, linked up the world for the very first time," he says. "The British were able to refine this system by creating submarine telegraph networks, enabling them to control their shipping better, wiring messages across the globe that enabled them to react quickly as market conditions changed."

century its sailing ships - notably, vessels such

as the Cutty Sark – had forged what Lambert

This ability to control the global trading network was the key to the success of the British empire. "It was an empire of finance, not of territory," says Lambert. "The centre of Australia is just desert, and much of Canada is white desert. Britain didn't rule that, and it wasn't important. What was important were the sea lanes that connected Britain to the empire and the market that Britain dominated."

Suez crisis for sail

But for clippers such as the *Cutty Sark*, things were about to change. In 1869, the Suez Canal opened, linking the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and in doing so triggered the long, slow decline of the age of sail.

"Sailing ships were always more suited to going round Africa to reach China than steam ships, because the latter had a limited range and needed to refuel," says Lambert. "The Suez Canal changed all that. Sailing



ships found it hard to navigate the Mediterranean and had to be towed down the Red Sea. They found themselves up against steamships that were getting faster and faster, more economical – and that were now travelling on a quicker route."

The rise of the steamship was too relentless even for a ship of the pedigree of the *Cutty Sark*. By 1878 she was forced to ply alternative trade routes, from 1883 bringing back wool from Australia to feed the massive mills in the north of England – and, incidentally, smashing the record for the quickest return journey between Sydney and London by 25 days. But soon that route, too, became economically unviable, and in 1895 Jock Willis sold the ship to a Portuguese company, who renamed her *Ferreira*.

For the following half-century this symbol of British imperial might served in obscurity. Damaged by numerous storms, in 1954 she was moved to a custom-built dry dock at Greenwich, where she was preserved as a museum ship – a memorial to the seamen who lost their lives in the two world wars.

Apart from a brief hiatus after fire ravaged the ship in 2007, the public's enthusiasm for this maritime treasure has been unwavering. Some 250,000 visitors descend on Greenwich each year to explore the only British-built clipper that survives today – one that boasts 90 per cent of her original hull, the world's largest collection of merchant navy figure-heads and a museum exploring her colourful past. It is, as Andrew Lambert asserts, "an exceptional interpretation of a unique period in the design of the sailing ship".



Historical advisor: **Andrew Lambert** (left), Laughton professor of naval history at King's College London. Words: Spencer Mizen

GOLDEN AGE OF SAIL FIVE MORE PLACES TO EXPLORE

e e e

1 Chatham Historic Dockyard

Where Britain's navy was born

The shipwrights of Chatham prepared Queen Elizabeth's ships to face the Spanish Armada, and in the 17th century this port on the Medway became the Royal Navy's primary dockyard. Nelson's flagship HMS *Victory* was one of the finest to be built here, while vessels such as the frigate HMS *Unicorn* (now in Dundee) were constructed to re-equip the navy after the Napoleonic wars. *thedockyard.co.uk*

2 HMS Trincomalee, HARTLEPOOL Where Nelson's navy was restored

Built in 1816–17 in the Wadia Shipyards at Bombay (now Mumbai), this Leda-class frigate was one of several constructed with Malabar teak when English oak was in short supply. Later used as a training vessel before being transported to Hartlepool, the *Trincomalee* is now the oldest British warship afloat. hms-trincomalee.co.uk

3 Portsmouth Historic Dockyard Where the largest warship was built

Nine years before the *Cutty Sark* first set out for China, Britain's first iron-hulled warship was launched on the Thames. The pride of Queen Victoria's fleet, HMS *Warrior* was the world's fastest, largest and most powerful ship of her day. She now rests, with Nelson's *Victory*, at Portsmouth. *historicdockyard.co.uk*

4 Kathleen and May, LIVERPOOL Where British trade docked

Even after steamships succeeded clippers on international trade routes, sailing vessels still plied the waters around Britain. Built in north Wales in 1900, Kathleen and May, Britain's last working three-mast wooden-hull topsail schooner, carried cargoes between Cardiff, Liverpool, Scotland, Ireland, south-west England and the Channel Islands. She is now based at Liverpool's Albert Dock. kathleenandmay.co.uk

5 RRS *Discovery*, DUNDEE Where the era of sail ended

A new ship was required to carry the great Antarctic expedition of 1901, whose members included Robert Falcon Scott and Ernest Shackleton. Using the basic design of the great Dundee whalers of the 19th century, the RRS *Discovery* was the last wooden three-masted ship built in Britain. She can now be visited at Dundee's Discovery Quay. *rrsdiscovery.com*

BBC History Magazine 83



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FIVE THINGS TO DO IN MAY

CHOICE

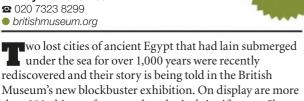
History under the sea

EXHIBITION

Sunken Cities: Egypt's Lost Worlds

British Museum, London 19 May-27 November

- 020 7323 8299
- britishmuseum.org



Museum's new blockbuster exhibition. On display are more than 300 objects of great archaeological significance. Shown alongside magnificent recent finds from the sea are masterpieces from Egyptian museums. The lost cities of Thonis-Heracleion and Canopus lay at

the mouth of the Nile and were cosmopolitan trading centres. Most likely founded in the seventh century BC, by the eighth century AD the sea had reclaimed them and they

lay hidden several metres beneath the seabed.

World-renowned archaeologist Franck Goddio and his team have excavated spectacular underwater discoveries using the latest technologies, and thanks to their immersion most of the finds are amazingly well preserved. They range from monumental statues – including a 5.4 metre tall granite representation of Hapy, a divine personification of the Nile's flood – to fine metalware and gold jewellery.

Sacred offerings and ritual objects describe the cult of Osiris, the god of the underworld who held the promise of eternal life. They also tell stories of political power and popular belief, myth and migration, gods and kings. Meanwhile, the discovery of the cities has helped reveal how Greece and Egypt interacted in the late first millennium BC.



Words in the Square

The London Library, London 6-8 May

- **2** 020 7766 4745/4747
- londonlibrary.co.uk/175

Three days of events marking the library's 175th anniversary. On 6 May Diane Atkinson, Ian Hislop, David Kynaston, Tom Stoppard and Claire Tomalin look back to 1841 (the year the library was founded). Other speakers on the line-up include historians Simon Schama, Bettany Hughes, Antony Beevor, Tom Holland and Juliet Gardiner.

NEW VISITOR CENTRE

The Royal Mint **Visitor Centre**

Llantrisant, South Wales From 18 May

- royalmint.com

The Royal Mint's 1,000-year history of producing coinage is explored in a new visitor centre. The centre includes interactive exhibitions on the origins of the Mint, its link with the Tower of London, and the processes involved in creating coins and medals. Plus there is an opportunity to see coins being made.

EXHIBITION / FREE ENTRY

Jutland 1916: WWI's **Greatest Sea Battle**

National Maritime Museum. Greenwich

- 20 May-1 November 2018
- **2** 020 8858 4422
- rmg.co.uk

On the centenary of the major First World War naval

clash, this exhibition tells the story of the battle, its lead-up and the experience of serving aboard the ships. (The National Museum of the Royal Navy also has a Jutland exhibition opening this month: for details see page 56.)

A drum from the ship HMS Lion, which survived Jutland

Museums at Night

various venues across UK 11-14 May

museumsatnight.org.uk

A torchlit tour of Bursledon Brickworks Industrial Museum in Southampton and a ceilidh in the Home Farm of Culzean Castle, Ayrshire are just two events in Museums at Night, the twice-yearly event during which UK museums and heritage sites open their doors after hours. The festival takes place on the weekend nearest International Museums Day (18 May). Events include lectures, museum sleepovers, stargazing events, quizzes and workshops.

MY FAVOURITE PLACE

Berlin



by Frank McDonough

For the latest in our historical holidays series, Frank McDonough explores the

dark past of a vibrant European city

ince reading William L Shirer's The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich as a teenager I've been hooked on that dark period. My academic life has been fixated on its history, and research for several of my books has led me to Berlin on numerous occasions; I'm now passionate about the city.

Because of the division of Berlin during the Cold War, the city has a strange layout, with no real centre, and you can find something new each time you go.

A good starting point is the Brandenburg Gate. The famous monument suffered heavy bomb damage during the war but has been impressively restored. Nearby, important historical landmarks include the Reichstag. On 27 February 1933 it was set on fire by Marinus van der Lubbe, a Dutch communist (who may or may not have been acting alone). Now called the Bundestag, it's the seat of the German parliament, and security is tight: you must register online before you visit. I was impressed by the viewing gallery, which offers terrific views of the city.

Nearby is the Holocaust Memorial, composed of 2,711 large concrete slabs arranged in rows. It looks like a maze, but

86

also resembles a cemetery. I was particularly moved by the underground exhibition centre, which outlines the story of the 'Final Solution to the Jewish Question' within an imaginative series of displays. In the Room of Dimensions, the memoirs of Holocaust victims light up beneath your feet as you walk across. They are heartbreaking.

Two minutes' walk away, on Gertrud-Kolmar-Strasse, is the site of Hitler's underground bunker. Badly damaged after the war, it was not even marked until 2006, and today there's just a small information board near a car park. It's strange that the authorities haven't built a museum at this site to chronicle how easily a democracy can become a dictatorship, to remember a regime that was born in the



Research for several of my books has led me to Berlin. I'm now passionate about the city Completed in 1791, the **Brandenburg Gate has survived** the Napoleonic Wars and the Second World War to become Berlin's symbol of unity today

Reichstag and died in the bunker.

Of particular interest when I was researching my latest book The Gestapo: The Myth and Reality of Hitler's Secret Police was the Topography of Terror exhibition on Niederkirchnerstrasse. Once the site of Gestapo HQ, it was bombed at the end of the war. The horrific activities of the Gestapo and SS are brought out clearly here in an imaginative way.

I have also visited the German Resistance Memorial Centre on Stauffenbergstrasse many times. Concentrating on resistance groups and brave individuals

The Holocaust Memorial in central Berlin comprises 2,711 concrete slabs and was inaugurated in 2005

who opposed Hitler's regime, the centre is housed in the Bendlerblock, where Claus von Stauffenberg and co-conspirators planned the 'Operation Valkyrie' bomb attack on Hitler on 20 July 1944. A plaque marks the spot where they were executed. Two things particularly affected me when I first visited. First was the statue of a naked figure by Jacob Epstein, clearly designed to evoke the helplessness of resistance, and second a huge room with a display about the

numerous people involved in the plot – it's amazing it was not uncovered before the attack.

The Jewish Museum on
Lindenstrasse is fascinating – not least the building by Daniel
Libeskind, which resembles an alien spaceship. It explores



ADVICE FOR TRAVELLERS



BEST TIME TO GO

Late spring and early autumn are ideal times to visit.

GETTING THERE

Flights from most UK cities serve Berlin's Tegel and Schönefeld airports.

WHERE TO STAY

I suggest staying on or near the Kurfürstandamm, the famous Berlin avenue lined with shops, restaurants and bars. I've stayed most often at Hotel Zoo, which is on Kurfürstandamm itself, or Hotel Bogota on Schlüterstrasse, a quiet side street.

WHAT TO PACK

Buy a Berlin Welcome Card online in advance for discounts on museums and tours, plus unlimited travel on buses and trains. Buses 100 and 200 follow a circuit around the main attractions.

WHAT TO BRING BACK

If you've time for shopping, you'll find everything from high-street wares to designer brands on Kurfürstandamm.

...........

READERS' VIEWS

For a real sense of history, walk the route of the Wall from Checkpoint Charlie to the Holocaust Memorial @cazp53

Book in advance for a tour inside the Bundestag - an awesome experience of the modern building shoehorned into the old one Colin Cuthbert



German-Jewish history over the centuries, and features two especially chilling exhibits: the Memory Void - 10,000 hollowed steel faces dedicated to victims of the Holocaust – and the Holocaust Void, an empty, dark room illuminated by just a small shaft of light from the top. To me, the museum conveys a message of hope and survival, not despair.

When researching my book on the Holocaust I visited Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, 22 miles north of Berlin, in which political and religious opponents were interned. Thousands died

Been there...

Have you been to Berlin? Do you have a top tip for readers? Contact us via Twitter or Facebook



📘 twitter.com/historyextra



here from starvation, medical experiments and executions. It's in a bleak spot resembling a large field surrounded by deserted guard towers, but the memorial, next to the cremato-

ria, brings home the purpose of this site. It moved me to tears.

The House of the Wannssee Conference, in a beautiful spot overlooking a lake south-west of the city centre, is moving for a different reason. It concentrates on events leading to a meeting on 20 January 1942, chaired by leading SS figure Reinhard Heydrich, at which details of the 'Final Solution' were agreed. It seemed amazing to me when I first visited how divorced from the grim reality of the death camps were the people who took the decision to kill the Jews. It's

hard to escape the contrast between the room in which the Holocaust was planned and the rooms of chilling photographs of its victims.

Berlin is a wonderful city that people enjoy for many reasons, but my Berlin will always be linked to the city's Nazi past, and its important and moving sites of remembrance.

Frank McDonough is professor of international history at Liverpool John Moores University

Read more about Frank's experiences in Berlin at historyextra.com/bbchistory magazine/berlin

Next month: Yasmin Khan heads to Kathmandu, Nepal

HISTORICAL holidays & hotels

See below a selection of hotels and holidays, giving you opportunities to stay and soak up some history







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4. Hidden History Travel

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0121 444 1854 // www.hiddenhistory.co.uk



2. Heneford Mill

17th Century Rural Mill House with Pool

Peace and luxury come together at Heneford Mill, a 17th century five bedroom Mill House full of character. Set in a 27 acres farm with a heated outdoor pool, a river running through woodland, walks at the door step, and great local attractions and beaches.

The house has many original features, such as the millstone which is now part of an open fireplace, and is furnished in keeping with its style. The kitchen, warmed by an Aga and with views to the paddock, is a pleasure to cook and dine in. Walks in the grounds take you to open fields, river, pond, and woodland, or on to explore the rest of the valley. The house is a wonderful base for discovering Dorset as well as neighboring parts of Somerset and Wiltshire, with their impressive historic and natural sites.

For property details, pictures, availability and bookings visit the webite.

www.airbnb.co.uk/rooms/6077173





3. Craig Y Nos Castle

With 40 acres of countryside within easy reach, the Castle is an ideal location for dog walking during the day and relaxing in the night. Each morning, when staying overnight, you can take a free history tour to discover the Castle's early history, through to the Patti years and later as a hospital during the war. Tours available for non-guests at 10.30 daily at just £10 pp.

01639 731167 // www.craigynoscastle.com

5. Island Cottage Holidays

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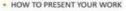
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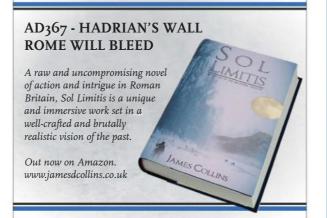
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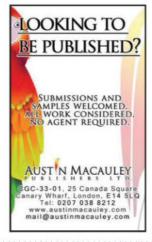
Website: www.nfassociation.org Email: info@nfassociation.org

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PUBLISHERS



Have a hand INHISTORY

As plans to save the medieval Ruthin Castle in Wales take a step forward, you can help play a role in its conservation

he future finally looks bright for Ruthin Castle. Historically significant, it was constructed from 1287 in the Vale of Clwyd, Wales, although its importance has long been undervalued due in part to local circumstances. But now, plans for the castle's conservation are

Ruthin Castle was built as part of King Edward I's 'Iron Ring', which also includes Caernarfon, Conwy, Beaumaris and Harlech castles - four of which have been given UNESCO World Heritage status. Ruthin's significance, however, has been undermined not least due to the misconception that it's just the 19th century mansion hotel that shares the

This March, the Ruthin Castle Conservation Trust was successfully registered under the Cooperative and Community Benefit Socieities Act 2014 and with the Financial Conduct Authority. A formal application to HRMC for exempt charity status is now pending.

Through a number of initiatives the Trust aims to establish the ancient castle as a visitor attraction in its own right, separating it from the commercial hotel. This will be achieved through sustainable conservation, while also giving support to efforts to conserve the mansion and gardens.

Another key objective for the Trust will be to raise the public perception of the 13th century castle, and to give it the clear, individual identity that it deserves. Engaging the local community and educational groups in the project will be another priority.

The Trust has five founder directors that bring exceptional experience in areas such as archaeology, business and structural and civil engineering to the project. Membership is open though, and more directors with specific skills in areas including PR consultancy and legal expertise are needed, and will be co-opted onto the board in due course.

Funding is also required and is being sought from a number of public and private organisations, along with voluntary donations from guests and any interested parties.

Anthony Saint Claire BAHons; MSc. FIH (Chair) - Director of the Ruthin Castle Group of Companies and Project Champion for Ruthin Castle Conservation Trust.

Anthony qualified in architecture, financial control, International hotel management and trained in law in the UK and USA. He is a successful businessman and philanthropist. Both Anthony and his Co-Director Liam Walshe are Fellows of the Institute of Hospitality. Liam Walshe OBE FIH - CEO of Prima Managed Estates and Co-Director of the Ruthin Castle Group of Companies was awarded an OBE in 2010 for his charitable work. Gareth Evans (Secretary) - former Head of Economic Development for Denbighshire County Council (retired) and respected amateur local historian. Has recently published a book on the history of Ruthin. Brian Taylor C.Eng, MIStructE (Treasurer) - Highly qualified structural and civil engineer (retired) with extensive experience in construction, renovation and contract/project management is also a former hotel proprietor. Dr Sian Rees CBE -former senior civil servant and CADW Inspector of Ancient Monuments (retired). Sian is a highly respected archaeologist and expert on mediaeval castles.

If you think you can help in the restoration of Ruthin Castle in any way, or would like further information, please email

Conservation Trust@ruthin castle.co.uk











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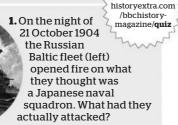
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QUIZ

BY JULIAN HUMPHRYS

Try your hand at this month's history quiz



QUIZZES

2. Which lover of a British hero was born Emy Lyon in Cheshire in 1765?

- **3.** Who was the last Roman Catholic archbishop of Canterbury?
- **4.** What did Thomas White of Reigate bring onto a cricket pitch in September 1771, thus prompting a change in the laws of cricket?
- **5.** Which palace burned down on 30 November 1936?
- **6.** What was this woman the first to create?



QUIZ ANSWERS

1. A fishing trawler fleet from Hull 2. Emma Hamilton, lover of Lord Nelson 3. Cardinal Reginald Pole. He died on 17 November 1558, shortly after his queen, Mary Tudor 4. A bat that was as wide as the stumps 5. The Crystal Palace in south London 6. The world's first computer program (she is Ada Lovelace)



Q Was there really a 'whipping boy' who took physical punishments for the future Edward VI when the prince was naughty?

John Ellis, by email

Yes: Barnaby Fitzpatrick, the eldest son of an Irish nobleman. He was sent to court in 1543, aged about eight, to demonstrate his father's loyalty. There he was appointed to the unenviable position of royal whipping boy, which meant he had to suffer the punishments that Edward should have received.

Whipping boys were a relatively new phenomenon at court. The position was created because of the beliefs enshrined in the divine right of kings: since the king was appointed by God, nobody except the king was worthy of punishing his son. As kings tended to be distant figures, the only way tutors could enforce discipline was to inflict punishment on a member of the prince's entourage – preferably one to whom he

had grown close. A strong bond between a prince and his whipping boy increased the effectiveness of this punishment.

The practice continued into the 17th century. Charles I showed great favour to his whipping boy, William Murray, creating him 1st Earl of Dysart.

Thereafter, the practice seems to have died out

As for Barnaby, he was richly rewarded for his pains. He participated fully in court and ceremonial life, and received the finest humanist education available. He remained Edward's closest favourite after the latter became king in 1553.

Tracy Borman is the author of *The Private Lives of the Tudors* (Hodder & Stoughton, May 2016)

GOT A QUESTION?

Write to *BBC History Magazine*, Tower House, Fairfax Street, Bristol BS1 3BN. Email: historymagazine@historyextra.com or submit via our website: historyextra.com/bbchistorymagazine



Every issue, picture editor

Samantha Nott brings you a recipe from the past. This Tudor pie would be eaten on days when abstinence from meat was practised

Pieday Friday

This 1596 recipe for a "pie of bald meats [greens] for fish days" was handy for times such as Lent or Fridays when the church forbade the eating of meat (another similar recipe is called simply Friday Pie). Medieval pastry was a disposable cooking vessel, but in the 1580s there were great advancements in pastry work. Pies became popular, with many pastry types, shapes and patterns filled with everything from lobster to strawberries. This pie's sweet/savoury combo is typical of Tudor cookery: I enjoyed it, but was glad I'd reduced the sugar content.

INGREDIENTS

- Pastry: 1lb plain flour, 5oz butter, 1 egg
- 8oz mixture of spinach, lettuce, cabbage, chard
- 2oz raisins, chopped
- 1oz grated hard cheese
- 2oz fresh bread crumbs
- 1/2 tsp salt
- 1/2 tsp cinnamon
- 1 tbsp sugar (I used 1 tsp)
- 3 raw egg yolks
- 1 hard-boiled egg yolk
- 1oz melted butter

METHOD

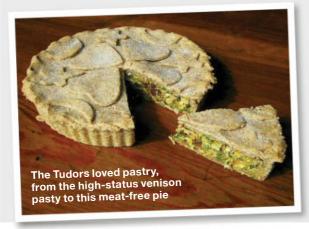
To make the pastry, rub the butter into the flour, work in egg and water, and knead lightly. Use half to line a dish; I used a 10-inch metal flan dish. Remove the coarse stalks of the greens, shred leaves thinly, mix with other ingredients (I also added black pepper) and pack into the dish. Cover with pastry, keeping some back to make decorations for the top. Bake at 150°C for 50 mins (mine took an hour), brushing the top with a little butter and sprinkling on a little fine sugar before serving.

VERDICT

The pastry handled well and the pie was tasty. It made a good summer lunch, served with pickles. I'll make it again, but this time minus the sugar sprinkled on top.

Difficulty: 4/10 Time: 1 hour 30 mins From a recipe in Cooking and Dining in Tudor & Early Stuart England by Peter

Brears (Prospect, 2015)





Q If the German army had been successful at the battle of the Marne in 1914, and gone on to capture Paris, what would have been their next objective?

Noel McCann, by email

A Though the German army had plotted the invasion of Belgium and France in immense detail, it had given almost no thought to postwar planning. There were no formal plans to occupy France. It was anticipated that, after victory in the west, German forces would be immediately transferred to the east to fight against Russia.

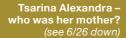
In September 1914 the need to plan for a postwar world prompted chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg to draft a memorandum that became known as the *Septemberprogramm*, a plan that demanded huge territorial acquisitions. Germany was to annex a swathe of France's wealthy north-eastern territory, including the Channel coast from Boulogne to the Belgium border. Luxembourg was to be

annexed and Belgium was to become a German vassal state. Beyond Europe, Belgium and France were to surrender their central African colonies to allow Germany to create a vast, contiguous *Mittelafrika* that would span the centre of the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

Had Germany triumphed in 1914 the *Septemberprogramm* would have provided a starting point for peace negotiations. Yet in an ironic twist, the ambitious memorandum was drafted on 9 September – the same day on which German forces began to retreat at the battle of the Marne, an event that signalled the decisive failure of the invasion of France.

Spencer Jones, co-editor of *Over the Top: Alternate Histories of the First World War* (Frontline, 2014)

GETTY





DSSWORD ZE

PRIZE CROSSWORD

8 The most famous ship with this name was the one on which Charles Darwin sailed (1831–36) (3,6)

Across

- **10/1** Sixth-century BC Persian leader, founder of the Achaemenid empire, stretching from the near east to the Indus river (5,3,5)
- 11 Political activist and guerrilla warfare leader, captured and executed in Bolivia in 1967 (7)
- **12** 10th-century king of England who regained the Midlands and Northumbria from the Norse kings (6.1)
- **13** The most south-western fortified settlement of Roman Britain (6)
- 14 Former 'county' of northern Europe, name thought to mean 'flooded land', which started to flourish in the ninth century AD (8)

16/22 across/4 A cossack and peasant revolt of 1773–

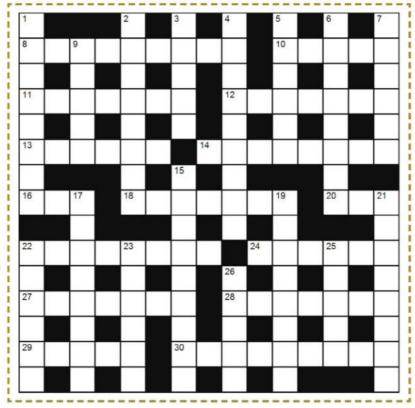
75 led by a man claiming to be Peter III (who had been deposed by his wife, Catherine the Great) (3,8,9) **18** City, founded by Seleucus I

Nicator, which has been called the 'cradle of Christianity' (7)

- **20** Short-lived British political party founded by the 'Gang of Four' in 1981 (3)
- 22 See 16 across.
- **24** Palestinian leader and joint winner of the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize (6)
- **27** The site of this major Greek city of Ionian Asia Minor is now in Turkey (7)
- 28 Treaties were negotiated here in Switzerland in October 1925 to secure a post-First World War peace settlement (7)
- 29 An associate of Freud who pioneered psychoanalysis and coined the term 'inferiority complex' (5)
- **30** 16th-century German-Swiss physician Paracelsus was a famous one (9)

Down

- 1 See 10 across.
- 2 Irish president whose failed opposition to the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty led to his resignation in 1922 (2,6)



- **3** Ancient alphabetic script used in Irish and Pictish inscriptions on stone monuments (5)
- 4 See 16 across.
- **5** Occupation which, as a small-scale operation, died out with the advent of domestic refrigerators in the mid-20th century (6)
- **6/26** Daughter of Queen Victoria and mother of Tsarina Alexandra (8,5)
- **7** Decoy boats introduced by the British and French navies in 1914 to lure and sink German U-boats (1-5)
- **9** 19th-century British explorer, the colleague then rival of Richard Burton in the quest for the source of the Nile (5)
- **15** He was king over the England he united in the 10th century (9)
- 17 Site of the first battle of the Civil War in England, fought – inconclusively – in October 1642 (8)
- **19** The Greek name for the son of Zeus and Alcmene (8)
- 21 West Sussex location of the country house associated with the Percy family and with the painter JMW Turner (8)
- **22** Common name for a ready-made house assembled on site, popular in post-Second World War Britain (6)

- 23 Revolutionary leader who served as prime minister and later president of his country between 1959 and 2008 (6)
- **25** Language descended from old Persian (5)
- **26** See 6 down.

Compiled by Eddie James

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Down: 2 Apache 3 Grapeshot 4 Olmec 6 Rembrandt 7 Syria 8 Isabella 10 Stasi 14 *Daily Mail* 15 West Point 16 Saratoga 18 Orsini 19 Eckert 21 Nobel 23 Anzio.

FIVE WINNERS OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE COURTS

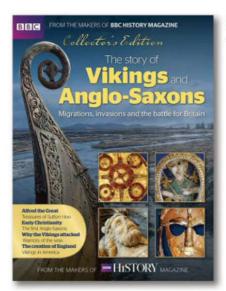
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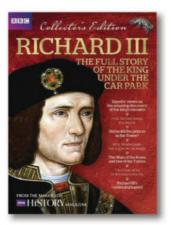




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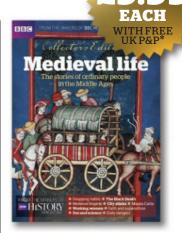
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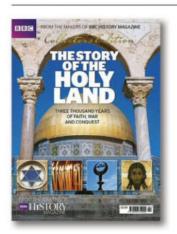
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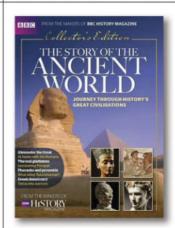
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NEXTMONTH

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Tracy Borman challenges some common misconceptions about England's 16th-century monarchs

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"The fact that he bought property only in Stratford suggests he was a committed family man. What he did with his success is indicative of who he was: a man who valued loyalty and family ties"

Writer and comedian Ben Elton chooses

William Shakespeare

c23 April 1564-23 April 1616

hakespeare is one of the key pillars of our civilisation. His biography may seem scant: in brief, he moved to London, performed and wrote for the Chamberlain's Men (subsequently the King's Men), was acclaimed as the greatest playwright of his time, and died back home in Stratford-on-Avon 400 years ago. Yet his achievements are still celebrated. Ben Elton's new sitcom Upstart Crow, part of the BBC's Shakespeare Festival, reimagines his struggle to make his name and provide for an unruly family.

When did you first learn about Shakespeare?

Like most people, I encountered Shakespeare for the first time at school and, like most people, I didn't find it an easy entry point. But I can pick out two points at which Shakespeare was unlocked for me. When I was 16 and studying Theatre Studies A-level, an inspired teacher called Gordon Vallins took us out in a storm. We all shouted: "Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks!" from Lear, and the thrilling urgency of the language suddenly became very real. The other occasion was when I first saw Ken Branagh on stage, performing Much Ado with such conversational skill that I sat there firmly believing that he was cheating, paraphrasing the dialogue. I was utterly thrilled to discover I was wrong!

What kind of person was he?

The fact that he bought property only in Stratford, and left what he had to his daughters, suggests to me that he was a committed family man. He made a great effort to help his father rebuild his reputation in Stratford, purchasing a coat of arms. Clearly, what he chose to do with his success is indicative of who he was: a man who valued loyalty and family ties. The idea that Shakespeare is some kind of mysterious 'other figure' on whom we can stamp any kind of personality we like – a rakish blade pursuing Gwyneth Paltrow [as in the film Shakespeare in Love] or some amorphous collection of other poets who really wrote his plays – is nonsense. We know a lot about Shakespeare.

What makes Shakespeare a hero?

I have many historical heroes – Mandela, Churchill – but after researching Upstart Crow, more than ever I stand in awe of



Shakespeare's peculiar genius. He is constantly being reinterpreted for every generation, and questions are, quite rightly, asked about the sexual, racial and economic politics in his work. These are interesting questions, because Shakespeare, famously, is "our contemporary", as the Germans call him. Clearly, his liberal instincts were very real, even though he lived in an age of intolerance.

What was his finest hour?

That's a very difficult question to answer, because his entire life was a 'finest hour'. Think of all the mentions in Shakespeare of the briefness of our time on Earth – he chose to sum up each person's life as an hour upon the stage, so I would say his finest hour was his life and work.

If you could meet Shakespeare, what would you say to him?

If, by any chance, he was aware of the various individuals who seek to primp their own intellectual credentials by doubting his achievement, I would assure him that anybody with any sense at all can see that it's just one of the world's favourite conspiracy theories – which rely on a lack of evidence, as opposed to real theories, which rely on evidence.

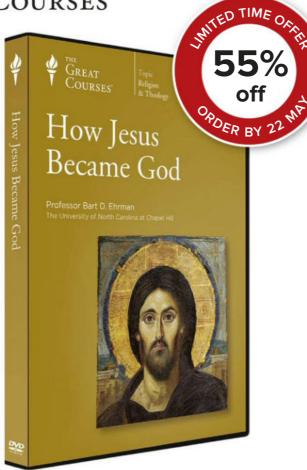
This was a man who was a prominent figure in his own day, and remained prominent – there's never been a point at which we lost Shakespeare, who he was and what he'd achieved. There is no evidence whatsoever in any contemporary writing or thinking to suggest that anyone other than this very brilliant lower-middle-class boy shone a light on the world that was to dazzle the entire planet.

I always remember a joke my dad told me years ago: "Of course Shakespeare didn't write all those wonderful plays – it was some other fellow with the same name!" II Ben Elton was talking to Jem Roberts

Ben Elton is a comedy writer and performer, playwright and bestselling novelist, famed for Blackadder, The Young Ones and We Will Rock You. His new series, Upstart Crow, will air on BBC Two soon as part of the BBC's Shakespeare Festival, which starts on 23 April

TWO





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66 As expected, I enjoyed the archaeology - but the best part was meeting like-minded people. 99

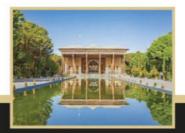
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